



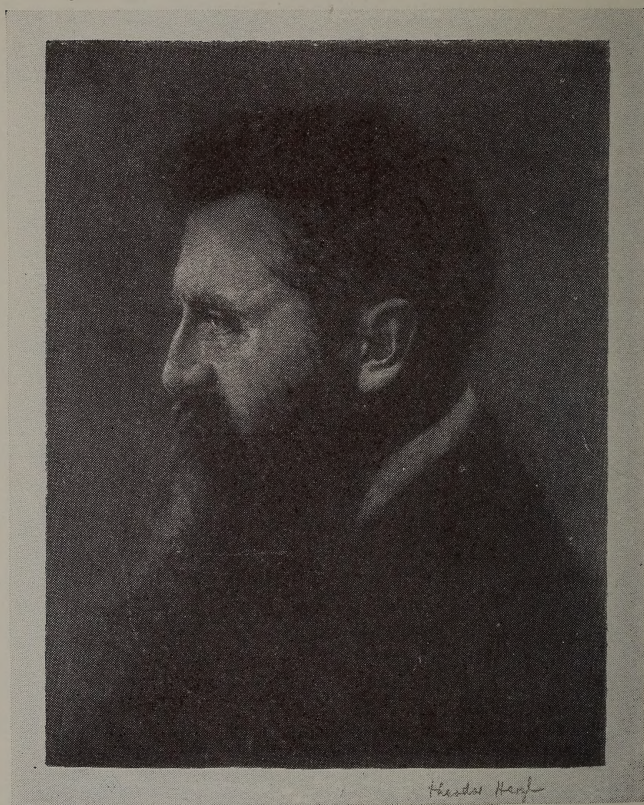
GUIDE TO ZIONISM

By

JESSIE E. SAMPTER

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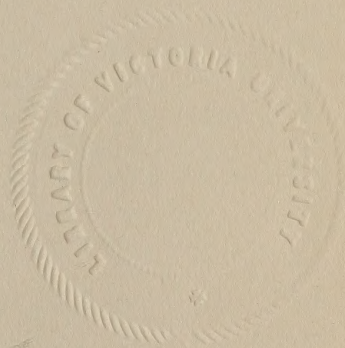
THEODOR HERZL

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A Guide to Zionism

Edited by

JESSIE E. SAMPTER



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

"A Guide to Zionism" appears at the instant when it has been announced that the Supreme Council at San Remo has decided that Great Britain is to be the mandatory power for Palestine to develop it as the Jewish homeland. At any moment, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey may be signed, to signalize for the scattered millions of Jews the end of exile, the beginning of a new era of constructive effort. For a while, our feelings will be too intense for easy expression and the necessary perspective lacking for a complete account of the epochal happenings of the past year. It has therefore been deemed inadvisable to make a complete revision of the text, although Miss Sampter's departure for Palestine has delayed the publication of the volume, and she would now perhaps desire to make certain changes. In its essentials, the editor's work is still the most recent and the most complete essay on Zionism ever published in America, and as such, will do valuable service.

A large number of devoted Zionists have helped see the volume through the press, and a hearty but entirely inadequate expression of appreciation is here made to every one of them.

P R E F A C E

It is almost four years since the publication of *A Course in Zionism*, the first attempt at a Zionist textbook, and that book is now out of date as well as out of print. With all its imperfections, its purpose has been achieved. In its *Introduction*, we read that "the book necessarily suffers from many defects that should be corrected in a later edition." That is its achievement. It has deserved a second edition.

The present book with its new title and its new form is nevertheless a successor to the *Course*. Experience has proved what were the defects to be remedied, and the changes wrought by three years of tumultuous history have also changed our needs. If the book in its transformation has grown to more than twice its former size, so, too, have the problems, the facts and the Zionist movement itself. No doubt this book with its greater size suffers from even more imperfections than did its predecessor. Our hope, then, must lie in a third edition. We are still in the midst of upheaval, the book goes to press while the Peace Conference in Paris is deciding the course of action on which depends the life of nations great and small. Every word now spoken is provisional.

The purposes of the book are manifold. In contrast to the *Course*, it is written in chapter form and in a readable style to encourage individual perusal. However, the arrangement is such as to serve especially the needs of groups of students. The thirty-three short chapters could be read aloud at as many weekly sessions of a study circle, during one season. For those meeting less frequently, the book can easily be divided into two or three seasons of study, since the first ten chapters deal with Zionist theory, history and organization, the next ten deal with more specialized phases of the movement, and the last thirteen deal with Palestine. In more intensive classes, such as those organized for our future leaders, the book may be used as a textbook to be read between meetings and supplemented by lectures in class. Each chapter is followed by a short bibliography, whose brevity should add to its usefulness, and there are suggested topics for papers on related subjects that might be prepared for and read at the same meeting. Not the least important part of the book is its appendices. The review questions, one for each chapter, may be used

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either as leading questions at each successive meeting, or as test questions at the end of the whole course or of any section thereof. The suggestions for reading circles are to meet needs which could not be supplied in the body of the book. The success of a reading circle depends not only on the matter chosen, but on its arrangement and on the careful limiting of its length. Time should always be allowed for discussion. The bibliography was chosen with regard to the needs of students. Hence its subdivisions. So too with the tables. And it is hoped that the index may make the book of use for general reference. The effort has been to concentrate in a small space, and in a not uninteresting form, a large number of facts.

Except in a limited bibliography, the book does not deal with Jewish history save by implication and reference, any more than it deals with Jewish literature, the Hebrew language, Bible study or any other of the vast fields of Jewish lore. Each of these ought to be introduced to Zionists by another publication of at least the same size. It is hoped that such may follow—especially with regard to Jewish history, for which there is no good short text-book in English—since the Department of Education, created by the Zionist Organization of America in June, 1918, has undertaken this task. This is only its first publication of considerable size and scope.

Acknowledgment is due from the editor to many capable and faithful assistants. A number of the chapters were written by persons whose names appear in their proper places. This gives us not only the benefit of expert knowledge, but also diversity of viewpoint. Mr. M. Sheinkin of Palestine, who wrote the last chapter, saw many of the events he describes, and was himself one of the Zionists exiled by the Turks. A few of the chapters are only a revision of material in the old *Course*, notably that on *Zionist Organization* and, in large part, that on *Jewish Education in Palestine*, which was originally prepared by Dr. David de Sola Pool. Some of the chapters, especially those on Palestinian colonization, were in large measure compiled from the best existing articles, and direct acknowledgment could not always be made. For example, certain passages from *Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine*, by Henrietta Szold, from the *Palestine Report* prepared for the American Jewish Congress, and from the essay on *Jewish Education in Palestine*, by Moshe Mnuchin, are used almost *verbatim*. The Department of Education, in the persons of its Secretary, Henrietta Szold, and its Educational Director, Emanuel Neumann, as well as of Emily Solis-Cohen, and Dr. Eugene Kohn, have given assistance both with suggestion and revision. Dr. David S. Blondheim, Lotta

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Levensohn, Emanuel Neumann, and Nellie Straus (Director of the Palestine Survey) gave many hours of careful revision to the manuscript. Others who were helpful in the preparation of individual chapters are Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Richard Gottheil, Jacob deHaas, Executive Secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, Louis Lipsky, its Secretary for Organization, Dr. Ben Zion Mossinsohn, Director of the Hebrew *Gymnasium* in Jaffa, Palestine, and Israel Wolf.

The book is forward-looking. We are poised for action, and the printed word is too static for our purpose. Everything written of Palestine today may even today no longer be wholly true. Rapidly as spring changes the aspect of the world, so swiftly are events likely to color with more vivid hues the soft and still too often barren beauty of Palestine. It seems artificial to speak of Jewish "colonies". Our Jewish settlers themselves object to the word with its false connotations of conquest and impermanence. It is the forward straining of vision that has prompted the use of the more apt and normal term of "Jewish villages."

The best arguments are facts. This book contains few other arguments, since its purpose is not to defend the truth, but to tell it. Many delusions still give support to the defeated forces of Jewish anti-Zionism, among them the fear-psychology which can even drive our haunted assimilationists to accuse Zionists of lack of whole-hearted Americanism. They fear an unjust accusation which has been brought against Jews often enough throughout history—they fear the accusation, not the crime—but here and now the only danger of it springs from their expression of fear. Present-day history must startle them out of that nightmare. A full statement of facts should cure that, as well as other hazy misconceptions, with their unhealthy and possibly harmful effects. The nobility of our ideal is its guarantee of American soundness. Facts, facts, and more facts alone will prepare us for our pioneering here or in Palestine.

JESSIE E. SAMPTER.

NEW YORK

A GUIDE FOR THE STUDENT OF ZIONISM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

The Jews are a people with a continuous and recorded history of more than three thousand years. This people numbers today nearly fourteen million souls. The greater part of this dispersed people is living in national concentration within a number of countries, in distinct and self-contained communities that are kept separate by the inner pressure of a peculiar way of life or a peculiar emotional character, both preserved to a greater or less extent by religious sanction, and frequently by the outer pressure of prejudice or special legislation.

The millions of Jews in the world are descendants of the nation in Palestine that was conquered and that was dispersed two thousand years ago. They are as distinct a national element as the Belgian or Polish people, since they have preserved their national individuality. No one can point to a moment of time at which the Jewish people lost their national character.

Besides a purity of race as great as that of any nation living on its own soil, the Jewish people has also preserved at least four of the chief factors of national life; namely, laws, customs, history, and language. A fifth national factor, religion, has been the means of preserving the other four. Religion has therefore been the chief national asset of the Jew.

The Jews Recognized Everywhere as Distinct People

Certain portions of the Jewish people have lost national will and energy, and it is this fact that has led to the use of the word "race" instead of "nation" or "people" to designate the Jews. It is a degrading term, for it implies that the Jews have kept the body but lost the soul of nationalism. The modern anti-Semitism of Western Europe is a direct outcome of this weakening of national will, for anti-Semitism is not national or religious hatred, but race hatred. It arises as a protest against Jewish efforts to assimilate. The older Jew-hatred and persecutions were directed against the Jew's efforts to retain his individuality.

Whether the Jews attempt to preserve their national individuality or to destroy it, they meet the opposition accorded to aliens. The

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name "Jews" is the designation of a certain people conquered and driven from their homeland. The name of their national religion, Judaism, is derived from their national designation. An unreligious Jew is still a Jew, and he can with difficulty escape his allegiance only by repudiating the name of Jew. In some countries the Jews are despised as a subject people without civic rights. But even in many of the countries where they are emancipated and legally accepted as citizens, they are still looked upon as aliens with special privileges. They are always a special economic problem, envied when too successful, because they are not actually the people of the land. Any unusual situation reveals their detachment, such as war, for instance, which causes them to be specially praised for a loyalty that is taken for granted within a nation.

Though in certain places and ages the Jews may be highly valued as individuals and in small communities, a very large immigration always meets with a partly justifiable resistance. Each nation has a right to its land and its individuality. And too large an immigration may be considered almost an invasion. The Jew is like the beggar "on the town" who has no house. When he is driven from one house, he must perforce seek another. He does not come because he desires it, but because he cannot help himself. His visit is no honor and his welcome must always be precarious.

Neither the high standing of the Jew nor his approach to assimilation, nor yet the enlightenment of the country in which he seeks refuge, nor even liberal laws and emancipation are any adequate defence. One cannot legislate away prejudice and hatred. The Dreyfus case occurred in enlightened France. In the United States, where the unformed national character and the foreign background of the majority of the people, make the position of the Jew peculiarly favorable at present, we have the agitation against the Negro in the South and the Asiatic in the West to remind us that we cannot depend on American enlightenment as an unfailing safeguard against race-prejudice.

The "haven of refuge" idea must be abandoned. No nation ought to concentrate wholly within another nation. National justice demands that each nation should have its own land.

The Three Possible Ways Out

The conclusion is obvious. The Jews must either reconcile themselves to a present and future of calamity and disaster, or they must assimilate and disappear as a separate people, or they must once again become a nation with a land of their own.

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The first is inhuman. Even those Jews who believe that all nationalism in itself is evil, the cosmopolitans, must grant that were such a loss of national individuality possible or desirable, it could not come to pass for many generations. No thinking and feeling Jew can say, "Until that consummation, let the Jewish tragedy continue." Furthermore, why should the Jew accept and profess every nationality but his own?

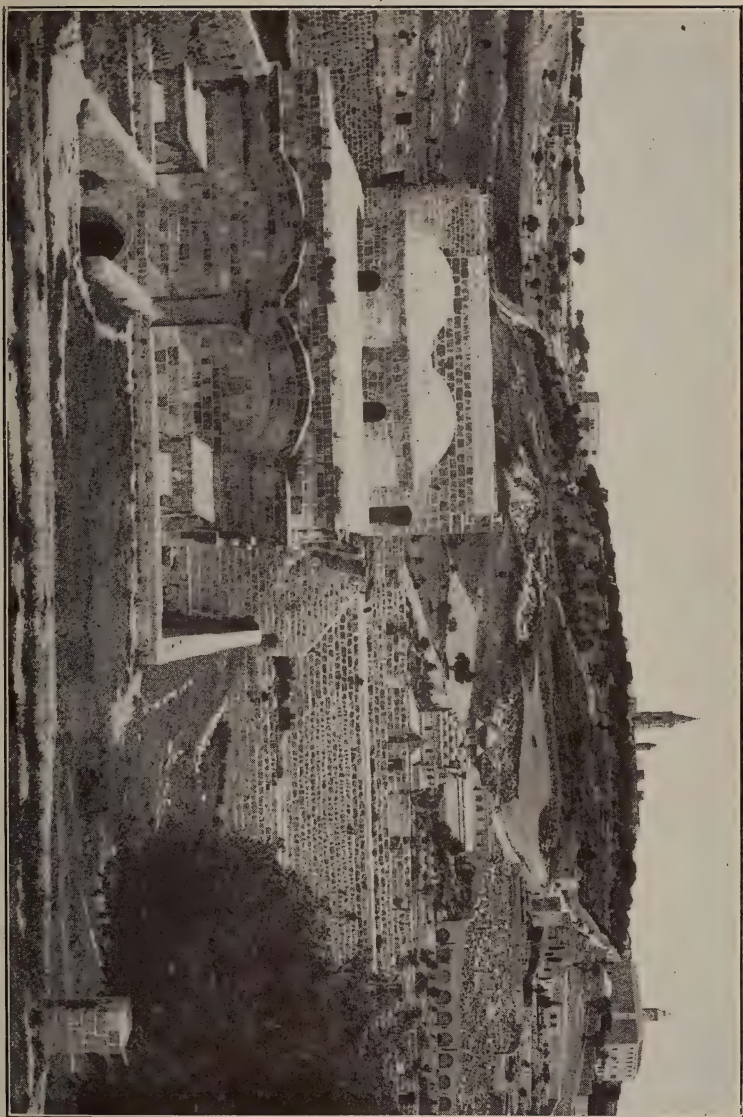
The second is impossible. The whole Jewish population cannot be absorbed. It assimilates by absorption of its outer fringes, like all other peoples, but it cannot and it will not disappear in bulk. It reproduces itself more rapidly than it loses in numbers by assimilation, as figures could easily show. Such a process, too, being slow moral suicide, would be degrading beyond words. In the process the Jews would indeed become merely a race, a people different but not distinctive, an anti-climax, a caricature of their former selves, and a blot on their own heroic history. But the Jews are saved from such a fate by their strong will to live and their sense of personal dignity.

By a negative process, a process of elimination, we have reached the conclusion that the only hope for the Jew lies in a land of his own. But Zionism is not merely a balm for wounds or even merely a cure. It is an enhancement of life, a promise of achievement. To the world, the Jewish race is a race worth preserving, and the Jewish national ideal is a noble and valuable ideal.

The strength and quality of the Jewish race are proved by three facts: its endurance and increase through centuries of oppression and persecution; its large number of individuals of high achievement in all departments of life in spite of numberless obstacles and handicaps; and lastly, the high standard of social morality in its communities. No signs of permanent physical race deterioration have appeared.

The Ideals of Jewish Nationalism

It is hard to evaluate the national ideal of a people without a land and without a state. The prophetic or missionary character of the Jewish people, implied by the word "chosen," recognized in all ages, has been variously interpreted. To the Christians, this quality culminated in Jesus, their Christ, who, according to them, gave to the Christian world the divine inheritance cut off from a sinful Israel. To a certain minority among the Jews the word "chosen" means a literal and individual superiority of the Jews, whose mission it is, scattered among the nations, to enhance the morality of their Gentile neighbors. Such a view is not only rightfully resented by their quite normal and



PANORAMA OF JERUSALEM

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quite moral Gentile neighbors, but it is disgusting to the modest and sensible Jew himself. The Jews claim no individual superiority. Nor do the exhortations of Moses and the later Prophets point to the fact that as a mass of individuals they could ever all claim such surpassing virtue. It is true that Jesus transmitted to the Gentile world the Jewish code of personal morals. This has now been thoroughly assimilated by the Christian world. Nor have the Jews anything to gain or give by a claim to priority and a dowager's testy demand for gratitude.

To the traditional Jew the meaning of "chosen" is quite different. It was the nation that was chosen for a national task; not the individual Jew. To justify this choice, the nation must suffer and labor and be severely punished and be lashed into obedience. God manifests his justice through human history, the history of nations. National, international morality is the peculiar and still untried and unfulfilled ideal of Jewish teaching. "All the nations shall walk in the way of the Lord." The Jewish people is a chosen people—not a chosen mass of individuals. Palestine is a Holy Land: that means the land where the Jewish people is to work out its destiny. Imperialism is precluded. One land for one people. If the Jewish people, chosen for this task of national regeneration, proves itself unworthy, it is to forfeit the land. Unless you are a righteous people, says the Lord, you cannot keep the land I lend to you on this condition. How different from the principle that necessity knows no law, and that the welfare of the nation is the supreme and only moral criterion of individual action!

The Jews today believe and repeat in their prayers that they were banished from their land because they were unworthy. They also believe and repeat that their exile is a punishment and a discipline, and that they are at last to return to Jerusalem with singing, and to Zion with everlasting joy. Then will all the nations accept the yoke of the Lord, and walk in His ways.

Such is the poetry, the romance of Jewish ideals. Practically, it expresses itself in laws of social righteousness and in the ideal of law itself. The Jewish people have from the first stood for the ideal of democracy, both international and intra-national. Democracy is a religious ideal, based on the fatherhood of God and upon faith in the equality of man—an equality of what may be called primal soul-dignity—the relation of each to God and therefore to ultimate justice. For in what other way are men equal? The acceptance of the ideal of democracy is a matter of faith, for it cannot be based on expediency, since undemocratic states are often more efficient than democratic

ones. And so far democracy has never been fully tried. In Jewish life it expresses itself in the ideal of impersonal law, which precludes the necessity for an arbitrary human ruler. One of these laws demands general education—"And thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children"—others, also essential to democracy, dictate the conditions of land ownership or lease; restrict by protective laws the ancient and formerly accepted institution of slavery; safeguard the equal rights of all before the law; make equal provision for the support of all members of the community.

But it is not so much the individual laws that express this democratic spirit, as the two facts that the law was given to the whole people, and that at all times, while there was a commonwealth of social unity, the law could be interpreted and developed to meet the changing needs of the people. As a theory of individual morality, democracy was passed on to Christianity, which is a personal religion. As a theory of national and international morality it is still untried; it is the ideal to be worked out by the Jewish people in the Jewish nation. Scattered individuals cannot fulfill a national ideal. And it is an ideal so noble that its advocates ought at least to be given a chance to fulfill it.

Democratic Ideal of Zionism

That this ideal will be attained may be inferred from the facts of Jewish history and the persistence of the Jewish people. The movement is based on the Prophetic and democratic character of Jewish thought. In the Zionist movement democracy is complete. Equal suffrage and equal representation for man and woman, poor and rich, are basic principles in the Organization. And the continual self-criticism and ferment—that as in Prophetic days still express themselves in opposition parties—seem to insure at least the preservation and possibly the complete fulfillment of the Prophetic ideals in a regenerated Land of Israel.

Palestine in Jewish Thought

By the mass of the Jews these Biblical ideals have never been intellectualized. They are transmuted into habit and emotion, the character of the people, the habits of democratic organization and lawfulness, and the religious love of Palestine. This passion for the Holy Land, an inarticulate, unreasoning passion, has expressed itself so far in pilgrimages and in individualistic migrations. Many causes have combined until recently to prevent a national movement. In

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such a movement the love of the Jewish people for Palestine, and the place of Palestine in their religion and history, make it the only spot on earth that could draw to itself the masses of the Jewish people.

Zionism Expressive of Jewish People

The Zionist movement, which was officially and politically organized in 1897, might be called the articulate and self-conscious agent of the Jewish people. This gives it its representative character, although its organized membership may form a minority among the Jews. The Zionist Congress, with its many delegates from every civilized country, has been the Jewish Congress. For inertia cannot be represented, and constitutes no opposition by its failure to be represented. Could the Zionist sympathizers be counted, they would surely be found to constitute the bulk of the Jewish people. Hundreds of years of oppression have left the stamp of timidity upon the national will. But the will is there. The Zionist movement is a folk movement, a representative movement, as is proved by the fact of its rapid growth among all classes and in all lands, and by the other fact that most of the money which actually supported the practical work in Palestine until recently came from Jews who were not directly affiliated with the Zionist movement. The Zionists are the agents of the Jewish people in the regeneration of Palestine. The Zionists and their Jewish co-workers have proved themselves fit to be the agents of the Jewish people. Against enormous odds, "without the help of anything on earth" except their own resolution and courage, with opposition from some governments and with concrete help or encouragement from almost none, at the cost of many lives, and the consecration of many more lives at any cost, they have built in Palestine the normal, wholesome and flourishing life of Jewish agricultural villages, where the Hebrew language and Jewish institutions blossom with the soil. They have trebled Palestinian trade in less than twenty years; they have reclaimed death-dealing swamps and arid deserts for the purposes of agriculture. They were returning to its normal uses and fertility a land devastated by war and neglect, but whose topography and climate are comparable only with those of California. All this had come to pass unnoticed by the busy world until the crisis of war, when the special tragedy created in an always tragic land drew the attention of practical philanthropists to a social organization that went far to meet the need for philanthropy. The Zionist Bank met the money crisis in Palestine and eased the situation for Jew and Gentile alike. It issued paper notes that for a while were the only accepted media of exchange.

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The well-organized villagers had their grain supply ready to avert or at least postpone famine. With all things against them, including the government officials, they managed to be the saving element in an otherwise hopeless situation. And where they failed, the organized Zionists of the rest of the world stepped in.

Value of Zionism to Jews

Zionism, both in its practical Palestinian work and in the organizing of the Jewish people everywhere, is of immeasurable value to the Jewish people itself, even before the attainment of its avowed aim. From the Jewish point of view this cannot be doubted. A Jew who appreciates the organizing and educational power of Zionism in all lands, who values the noble ideals of devotion and discipline that it demands everywhere of Jewish men and women, one who understands and rejoices that the revival of Jewish education in the last years is due to the development of Hebrew language and thought in Palestine—such a one must, to be consistent, support the Zionist Organization.

International Value of a Jewish Center

These are the facts: Such is the people, and such is the ideal of the self-conscious, articulate, organized part of that people. What is the attitude of the world of nations towards this dispossessed orphan of a princely race? Every nation has its fraction of this broken nation. Every land has its Jewish problem, whatever varying forms it may take. Zionism will not appreciably lessen the number of Jews in any land, but it will diminish the flux, the congestion, the disorganization caused by the international mal-adjustment of a people without a polity. It would probably solve the problem of Jewish mass migrations from one country to another, because if Jews were to be constrained by social or economic causes to leave one land, they would naturally turn to their own land rather than to another strange country. And the loyalty of those Jews who remain in all lands as citizens will be assured, because they will no longer be there from necessity, but from choice.

The Great War and the Jewish Restoration

All these ideas were matters of mere Jewish speculation until very recent times—one may say until November 2, 1917. Zionism, until then, was a struggling, an unfashionable, a minority movement. Although the fruit of our redemption did not fall suddenly into our laps, but was a long time ripening, and although the Zionists themselves, and especially the leaders of the Zionists whose labors and

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devotion helped bring the fulfillment, saw long in advance what the happy end must be, yet to the bulk of the Jews the British Declaration in favor of Zionism came as a surprise and in some cases as a shock. The Zionists, who had claimed to represent the Jewish people, were now recognized as its representatives to whom the nations addressed themselves. Upon the British Declaration there followed in rapid succession—within less than a year—the providential steps in the Jewish regeneration: the entry of British troops into Jerusalem on the first day of Hanukkah; the sending of a Zionist Commission to Palestine to co-operate with the British military government; the declarations in favor of Zionism by international socialist and labor conferences and by one after another of the Allied Governments, notably by France, whose interest in Palestine is great, and by our own government, which, although not at war with Turkey, expressed its approval through a letter written by President Woodrow Wilson to the former Chairman of the Provisional Zionist Committee; and, following quickly thereon, the complete conquest and the rout of the Turks by General Allenby during the week of the following Sukkot festival. The closeness of life and death, of horror and rejoicing, in the crises of war, was exemplified also in Palestine. The new Jewish life there was on the verge of destruction, had already its thousands of victims of persecution and hunger, when the final deliverance came.

Meanwhile from the Jewish spirit there sprang forth also the force and dignity to meet the new situation. In spite of the stupid Jewish opposition which had blindly striven to block the path of light and justice, and which in some measure still persisted and persists in increasingly stupid forms, the general unanimity of the Jewish people in acclaiming the British and subsequent declarations was truly remarkable. Rarely has any national movement advanced in such serried ranks. So closely was the Jewish ideal of nationality bound up with the Allied ideal of the rights of small nations, that whereas some anti-Zionists had mistakenly questioned whether one could be both a Zionist and a good American, that question, with its implied insult both to America and to the Jews, now threatened to become a boomerang. Another element which was instrumental in solidifying the Jews was the presence in all the Allied Governments, among the national leaders and workers, of Zionists who were also Zionist leaders. Especially marked was this in the Government of the United States. High in the Government service were such men as Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. Felix Frankfurter.

From all sides came the Jewish response, in money, in service,

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and in grappling with problems. This was not strange when we remember that Zionist statesmanship had been continually active to bring about the result. A legion of Jewish soldiers from all the Allied countries was organized, through Jewish initiative, to serve in the British army in Palestine. Immediately the problem of Jewish relations to the Arab and Armenian nations was considered with a view to justice and peaceful co-operation. Medical and engineering help was dispatched to the war-harassed land, and, last but not least, the Zionist Commission, in the person of its leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, laid the foundation stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, near the Mount of Olives.

Zionism and the Nations

This act, appropriate to a spiritual, a developed people, expressing itself first of all in a deed of the spirit, has greatly impressed all the nations that have fostered the Jewish restoration. For they now understand, after two thousand years of misunderstanding, the meaning and the value of Jewish nationality. They have not only done belated justice, but they are planting security for themselves. For the new Zion is to be a pledge of peace to the world. "Peace, peace to those that are far and to those that are near." The Jews have a distinct national task at the gateway between three continents, Asia, Africa, Europe. They may come to be the guarantee of the world's peace, and the nations will expect of them no less than what our Prophets foretold. The nations have understood also the claim of justice, that the Jewish people is a nation whose vital interests were at stake in the war, whose chief centers of settlement have suffered horrible disruption, millions of whose members have, through no fault of their own, been harassed and decimated from within and without, and, above all, a nation whose loyal service in all the armies, whose sacrifice and devotion in every land, have entitled them to justice from the nations they have served. At last the nations understand.

The Jewish Obligation to Learn and Understand

Now, shall the Jews do less? Shall the Zionists do less? It is a fact that many Gentiles have more quickly grasped the full import of Zionism, its political as well as its spiritual implications, than have some of the Jews themselves. Through their long dispersion some Jews seem to have lost the capacity for political thinking. But the day for action has come. The Gentiles now understand us, and it is our first duty to understand ourselves, in order that we may be fit to

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serve. A lifetime is not enough in which to gather the vast store of Jewish knowledge. But a few hours of intensive study may give us enough knowledge to understand ourselves at least as well as our neighbors know us, and to fit us for the task, which, though it may in fact keep us through toil and sacrifice even from the fruits of study, will make possible a full, free, rich Jewish life for those Jews that will inherit the promised land of our fathers.

For our task is not yet ended. In truth, it has only begun.

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CHAPTER II

THE JEWISH SITUATION

To understand the solution of the Jewish problem, one must first of all understand the Jewish problem. Many persons are out of sympathy with the purposes of Zionism because they do not know the conditions which make it inevitable. In some communities in América, where there are half a dozen Jewish families, assimilated to the general population and Jewish only in name, it is practically impossible to conceive of the existence of the Jewish people except through definite historic and political knowledge.

The Jewish Population in Various Lands

In the world today there are nearly fourteen millions of Jews. About half of these are living in Eastern Europe, that is, Russia, Poland, Rumania, and in those new-born nations, formerly the border provinces of Russia and Austria, where the fires of war have raged the hottest. Jewish statistics, which were never accurate, are still less so since the smashing and devastating blows of war have struck into the heart of the world's most densely populated Jewish centers. In the British Isles there are, approximately, 263,600 Jews, in France 100,000, in Italy 34,300, in the Netherlands, 106,300, in Germany 615,000, in Austria-Hungary 2,258,000. In the Balkans there are scattered a considerable number of Jews, including those in Salonica, which has been called a Jewish city, and which has changed its national status several times in recent history, but not its Jewish population. Scattered throughout Turkey there were before the war about 357,500 Jews. Of these, over one hundred thousand were settled in Palestine, and almost half of them in the new national Jewish settlements of Palestine. Practically every country in the world has its settlement of Jews, including Morocco and China. All the countries of North and South America have some Jews—in certain South American communities a single family is sometimes found in a city. The United States has, however, stood out predominantly as the new Jewish center of gravity, so far as numbers are concerned, to which have fled the millions who sought to escape Russian, Rumanian, and Polish persecution. There are more than three millions of Jews in

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the United States, of whom about one and a half million are concentrated in the one city of New York. New York City today contains more than five times as many Jews as any other city in the world.

But numbers do not tell the whole story. One of the smallest centers of Jewish life has always had, and continues to have, and promises to have for the future more importance than all the vast Jewish centers of the dispersion.

Palestine

Palestine, which has contained some Jews at all times since the dispersion, has recently allowed the Jews freedom of development along all lines but the economic. Not so much direct or discriminating oppression on the part of the Turkish Government, but the neglected condition of the country and the confiscatory taxes, have made economic progress impossible. However, cultural freedom, and a status of equality in civil rights with the Arab and other populations, was granted to the old settlements of those Orthodox Jews who went to the homeland to die, and to the new settlements of nationalist Jews who were building up a regenerated Jewish life. The agricultural village communities were autonomous, as is the case with all villages under Turkish rule. The culture of the neighboring Arabs was too low to tempt the Jews to assimilation. Hence, with the impetus of national idealism, of the anxious watching gaze of the whole Diaspora upon them, and of the hope of cultural and political independence, these Jews surpassed all others in freedom of intellect and spirit. They developed a distinctive Jewish life, with beauty and grace of expression. Hebrew became the tongue of their daily speech, the Jewish Sabbaths and festivals their national holidays. A new regime began December 10, 1917. (See Ch. XIII, XIV, XXXIII.)

Poland

The center of Jewish life and culture since the thirteenth century had been in Poland, when it offered to the Jews autonomy and a large measure of freedom and security, and when the Jews who were persecuted in Germany found there a haven of refuge and made of it a center of Jewish learning. The Yiddish tongue was brought with them by these German refugees and gradually adopted by their Eastern brethren. Yiddish is about 70 per cent medieval German, with an infusion of about 20 per cent. of Hebrew words and forms, as well as of some Slavic elements, written in the Hebrew characters and modified by usage in each locality. It has not a well-defined grammar

and hence no standard of purity. Until within the last century, Hebrew was considered the literary language of the Jews. Nevertheless, Yiddish is the spoken language of about one-half of the Jews of the world and has developed a considerable literature in recent times. Poland, through the three partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, was split up, with its Jews, among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Anti-Semitism seems to have flourished especially well in oppressed Poland, taking the form of intensive trade boycotts and, since the Great War, of pillage and massacre.

Russia

Conquering Eastern Poland and the Baltic provinces, Russia thus became a huge empire, and absorbed the Polish Jews. Since then, until the Russian revolution of 1917, their fate has been one of increasing bitterness. From Russia proper they were almost wholly excluded. In so brief a sketch as this, it is preferable to draw one picture of Eastern European Jewry, including Rumania and Galicia. In these countries, as contrasted to Western Europe, we find a certain condition: The Jews were considered a distinct and alien people, and under the racial and autocratic conception of nationality, they were therefore persecuted, segregated, treated almost as outcasts. All this was done in the name of religion. Political, civil, economic, and educational rights were denied them. Everything was denied them except the right to breathe, and even that occasionally was taken from them by the direct means of pogroms or the indirect means of expulsions. At present the disorganization and the passions incident to the close of war are causing the Jews unspeakable suffering. But it is impossible to foretell the future. The Jews are everywhere claiming national and individual rights, on an equality with other peoples. The measure of democracy attained will no doubt determine the measure of their release from a bitter bondage. But these Jews had settled in a simpler age, when they found here comparative freedom and self-determination. They had had autonomous communities, they had developed—especially in Lithuania—a high degree of Jewish culture, learning and social organization. They had become compact, national, self-conscious communities. And so in spite of persecution, of pitiful poverty, and of the degrading influences that accompany these, partly because of their strong foundation of learning and traditionalism they still remain to this day the treasure-house of Jewish culture and learning and of Jewish national idealism. The forced segregation, the exclusion from the economic

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melting-pot, the low state of culture of the surrounding peoples, protected them from dissolution.

Western Europe

Before the eighteenth century Western Europe was the scene of the most brutal torture and persecution of the Jews, but it has within the last hundred and fifty years given them complete civil emancipation. This was granted only after fierce struggle and upheaval and at a great price. The Jews of France, Germany, Italy sacrificed their Jewish national spirit to the cosmopolitan nationalism of the Europe which emancipated them. (See Ch. V.) But this emancipation did not preclude anti-Semitism; so that the Jews of Western Europe have had only a limited and nervous security which seemed constantly to demand more sacrifices of Jewishness. The Jews have left their Ghettos; they have general education, culture, modernity. In England, France, and Italy individual Jews have risen to high government positions. But each generation is less Jewish than the last. Anti-Semitism, which, combined with civic and educational opportunities, tends to destroy Jewish cultural and national values, on the other hand is perhaps the chief force in preserving the Jewish race through forcing the Jews to recognize their own racial solidarity.

America

From the first, almost every State in America has given full civil liberty to the Jews as to all other individuals, and has also through its government given official recognition to the social equality of the Jews. All positions of trust have been open to them. In theory, the United States grants the fullest possible freedom, not only to the individual, but to the Jewish community for all cultural purposes. Notwithstanding this official attitude, social prejudice is widespread in peculiarly irritating forms, and even at times results in economic exclusion, especially in the case of the poorer paid workers. The Jews, too, fail to take full advantage of American opportunities for Jewish development. The earliest and smallest immigration, the Portuguese or *Sephardic*, has almost disappeared through intermarriage. The German Jews, coming in the middle of the nineteenth century, brought with them German ideas of Reform and anti-nationalism, and withal little Jewish learning. They became the well-to-do Jewish middle class. The Eastern European immigration of the last thirty years has in large measure staved off complete assimilation. It is responsible for the vitality of American Jewish life. Yet, being looked down upon socially by the

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earlier German immigration, which set the pace, it has often followed the path made easy by the Jews themselves. A constant decay of Jewish values is to be seen, which is counteracted only by the stream of new immigration and by Zionism.

The Causes of Assimilation

The conditions that everywhere lead to assimilation are: (1) A wide scattering of small groups, so that they lose the national consciousness produced by physical contact (as in the Western United States and South America). (2) Business and industrial intercourse with Gentiles, which breaks down Sabbath and dietary observance, and tends, like all selfish rivalry, to weaken moral resistance. (3) The consequent breaking away from religious life, which is national, destroys the Jew's chief national expression in dispersion. (4) The attraction of all kinds of learning and knowledge tempts him to forget or neglect specific Jewish culture. In Russia many Jews underwent baptism to gain the privilege of studying and the possibility of a successful professional career. (5) The bait of social, political, or educational dignities—in Germany, for instance, army and university appointments. (6) The infectious weakening of organized religion in the Christian churches, and the tendency of Jews to judge Judaism by Gentile religious standards. (7) All the demoralizing forces of wealth, comfort, ease, which after long suffering tend toward materialism.

Is the break-up of the Ghetto with its persecutions and deprivations to be the break-up of Judaism and Jewish national life? Must we choose between abnormality or extinction, between disease or death? Or is the normal, healthy Zionist position to be the savior of Judaism and of the Jewish people? For they are dependent on each other as the wine is on the cup.

References:

The Jews of To-day, by Arthur Ruppin. *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, by Israel Cohen.

Subjects for Papers:

The Jews and the Russian Revolution. The effects of Jewish immigration into America.

CHAPTER III

THE JEWISH IDEAL OF NATIONALISM

Why should not the Jewish people disappear? Simplest of answers is that it would not. The right to life and the pursuit of happiness belongs as truly to nations as to individuals. But why should not all nations disappear? Is not nationalism the cause of human hatred, war, and oppression?

Nationalism and Imperialism

The same thing can be said of individuality. Before the organization of a lawful society, individuals practised hatred, violence, and oppression against their neighbors. The strongest robbed and enslaved the others. We cured that by establishing law, not by killing off humanity. War is not caused by the cultural differences between nations, such as language, religion, customs, arts. An oppressed nation may fight to preserve these things, but the cause of the oppression is always covetousness. Even religious wars of aggression, when studied carefully, are seen to have had economic and political causes based on greed or love of power. Many of the worst wars have been civil wars or revolutions involving a single people with uniform culture and language. And the Great War did not divide peoples along national or racial lines. The English and Germans are far nearer to each other racially and culturally than the English and Japanese, the Germans and Turks.

The real cause of practically all wars is not nationalism, but that diseased form of nationalism which is called imperialism. Nations have robbed each other without remorse, and have gloried in their conquests. This sin has been so common to nations that it has come to be considered normal. Hence the desire to destroy all nationalism. But the nations are not deserving of death. They will presently learn the lawful co-operation which has long since been learned, more or less, by the individuals that compose them and by the communities in their interrelations within the state. Imperialism is in fact the foe of all that makes nationalism possible and noble. It wipes out distinctions between nations; it attempts to remake its conquered territory in its own mold. Where it neglects to do that, it at least administers the conquered territory for its own interests, not for the national interests of the inhabitants. And when a conquered territory adopts the customs or culture of its conquerors, it usually picks out

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the worst features for imitation. Civilization spreads most rapidly, not its art, poetry, music, but its intoxicating drugs and liquors, its implements of war and its contagious diseases. On the contrary, it often happens that the conquering nation loses its own distinctive culture through the long neglect due to war, and adopts the culture of its new dependencies. Note how Greek and Jewish culture dominated Rome, how Roman culture dominated the conquering northern hordes. In either case, imperialism is a levelling force that destroys national individuality.

Internationalism Is a Development of Nationalism

Internationalism does not mean the destruction of nations and one vast undifferentiated humanity, but the co-operation of nations in a society of nations. The very word *international* implies nations. Nations are the units in internationalism as individuals are the units in society. Higher organization does not mean disorganization lower down the scale. Human society began with the family. Before we had nations, each city was independent. But we still have families, cities, provinces, and states. And so we can have internationalism, a league or society of nations only on the basis of existing nations. Oppression always results from long-distance government. The ideal of democracy is to keep government as local as possible. Hence nations would always remain natural centers of administration.

Variety Is Essential to Harmony

It is a curious perversion of ideas to think we should have peace if we were all alike. Monotony does not insure peace. Harmony and sameness are not only not identical, but in fact they are opposites. One can have harmony only where there is variety. Music needs more than one note for its production. Think of humanity not as an artificial organization but as a living organism. Each nation is one organ, each different, doing its own part in relation to the whole. As individuals scatter and travel, but each has his own national center, so do the blood vessels center in the heart, and the nerves in the brain. In the economic as well as the cultural life of nations this holds true. Internationalism, in giving security from war, would tend to allow each nation to develop the specific industry for which its land and population best fitted it, without fear of being left unprovided. There would be a tendency to greater division of labor between peoples, to the break-down of commercial barriers and discriminations, and hence to less rivalry and waste. The fullest development of nationalism is possible only under internationalism.

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Nationalism Is a Spiritual Fact

Nationality is character. It is a state of mind. Nationalism is the sense of cultural identity among the individuals of a political or historic group. It is much more a spiritual than a physical fact. Even identity of race is not absolutely essential to it, and where race is the strongest bond it becomes so through common family traditions more than through the physical fact of birth. National character consists of mental developments such as language, manners, customs, tastes, and expresses itself in art and religion. Religions are always national in their origins and purpose even though their outlook may be universal, like that of the Jewish religion. And of art this is also true. Each school of art expresses a certain nation at a certain point of its history. The great man is he who is supremely normal and sensitive, who expresses the soul of his people. Hence art becomes the bond between nations, for it is national in its expression and universal in its appeal. Although internationalism may need a diplomatic and commercial language of its own, yet national spiritual values, and even international sympathy and understanding, require that languages shall flourish as the speech of the national soul. To decrease what must be understood is not to increase understanding. We should all learn several languages. We should exchange cultures—but then we must have cultures to exchange.

Each Nation Needs Its Own Land

A land and its people are like a body and its soul. Geography and climate affect character, and for this reason alone nations would have to continue their individuality. Except for war, the number of people in a nation does not matter. What matters is its solidarity, its loyalty, its quality. Those who migrate cannot and should not be held. They should be free to form national cultural groups or to assimilate to other peoples. They can have that freedom only if their national center is free and secure. Such freedom and security can come only from international organization, from a League of Nations.

The League of Nations Is an Old Jewish Ideal

This ideal of nationalism and internationalism is now coming to be understood by the world. But the Jews have held it for three thousand years. It is the foundation of Judaism, implied in the most fundamental teachings of our Law and Prophets. (Note the citations

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from the Prophets in the list of references. These are incomplete; they are simply the most compact and striking statements.)

"All the nations shall walk in the way of the Lord" means international morality. Our most universalist Prophets were nationalists and internationalists, not cosmopolitans. Their ideal of brotherhood included the brotherhood of nations. The Jewish God-ideal implies democracy and internationalism. Men are brothers because God is their Father. All ancient nations except the Jews had their own particular god or gods, who created and fought for their own people alone. But Israel conceived of the universal God of all nations who created mankind and fought for righteousness, not for Israel. We were chosen in that he gave us the law of righteousness. But when we transgressed it we were punished even more severely than those nations who had not accepted it.

Rome tried to force us into its empire by forcing emperor-worship upon us as upon the other nations that it had conquered. We stubbornly refused. Medieval Europe tried in vain to force us into its Christian Empire either through persuasion or persecution. We have always remained true to the ideal of the freedom of small nations. Our religion, which taught us that we were a people chosen for an international task, made it possible for us to keep our nationhood, our spiritual freedom, through two thousand years of physical subjection.

Hence Zionism has a peculiar religious and international significance, above its national Jewish claims. Not only does it aim to fulfill one of the oldest of God's commands to his people—"You shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation"—not only is it the logical climax of Jewish history and of Jewish faith, but it comes into the world providentially when the world at last is ripe and ready to see, to understand, and to follow the law of God's family of nations. Already the Zionist demand for justice and freedom for a small nation has profoundly influenced the Allied Governments in their pronouncement of the rights of all small nations. And we stand awed before the call to a new Jewish leadership.

References:

The Book of the Nations, by J. E. Sampter. Lecture, Department of Education: *Nationalism, Internationalism, and the Jewish Nation*. Bible: Isaiah, Ch. 2, 10, 11, 19, 42, 49. Jeremiah, Ch. 25, 51. Ezekiel, Ch. 28, 29. Book of Amos. Micah, Ch. 4. Habakkuk, Ch. 1, 2. Zechariah, Ch. 2, 3, 8.

Subjects for Papers:

The national movement in Italy, Greece, Serbia. (Choose one of these or any other recent national movement to write upon.) The national ideals of the Prophets as exemplified by quotations.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL IDEAL IN JEWISH HISTORY*

Zionism Is as Old as Judaism

When one considers the facts of Jewish history, it becomes clear that Jewish nationalism is at least as old as the Jewish nation. Normally one ought to expect that. We were a people in our own land. We lost our land through war and conquest, and just because of the unusual spiritual and religious depth of our patriotism we remained a people intact for 2,000 years without a land or a polity. Zionism is as old as the Jewish people itself. Certainly it is as old as Jewish history. The account of the Patriarchs in the Bible is full of references to the future Jewish nation and full of national fervor; and the ideal of faith concerns itself not with individual souls, but with the welfare and the role of the whole Jewish nation in human history.

In the days of the Egyptian bondage, we already find the factors of the Chosen People, the Promised Land, the national leader, and the concept of a national-spiritual role among the nations. Before the land had even been won, the people had already pledged itself at the foot of Mount Sinai to put into action a complete program of national and private morality. These laws included purely civil and state laws which could have no application outside of the land. The Prophets, the scribes, the rabbi-sages, the poets, and the statesmen in whom the Jewish people has been so rich, were the bearers of the historic message of Zionism, through all the national vicissitudes. Only the term, the name, of Zionism, remained to be coined. *Mathias Acher* (Nathan Birnbaum) was the first to use that name for the modern Zionist activity in 1886. The idea and the ideals embedded within it have had other manifestations and other names; essentially, the prime motives in Jewish thought are to be looked for in national idealism.

Zionism Is an Outgrowth of Messianism

Zionism is the lineal descendant of the Messianic idea. The Messianic idea assumed various forms at different periods, and it

* Adapted from papers by Lotta Levensohn and Dr. Aaron Schaffer.

varied, too, with the leaders of the times: that is to say, it was not necessarily expressed in a more advanced form at later periods. For instance, Isaiah's conception of the millenium, of the golden age when Zion was to become the spiritual center of mankind, is hardly comparable with the Kabbalistic speculations during the middle ages as to the date of the Messiah's miraculous appearance to lead the children of Israel back to their own land. The Messiah was at times conceived as an individual, a descendant of David "*Mashiah ben David Avdeha*," who would appear to save the people at a critical time. In another conception, he was to be the model king who would re-ascend the throne of David at the "end of days"—as the biblical phrase has it—to rule in righteousness and justice. However, in the popular sense, he was (and still is) to be the Heaven-sent redeemer to lead Israel out of the Exile to a glorious future in the Land of the Fathers. Then again, we have the inspiring prophecies of a Messianic era, "When they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain," "When the nations shall not learn war any more," "When the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

The Prophets of Israel were all Zionists

More specifically, we find the idea of a chastened remnant restored to the Land of Israel enunciated by Amos and Isaiah, in times when the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah, respectively, were at the zenith of their power and prestige. Amos was accused of sedition for prophesying both the destruction and the ultimate restoration of Israel, when he chose the royal sanctuary at Bethel whence to sound his warning of woes to come. Such words as "Israel shall surely be led captive out of his land" could hardly have been welcomed, or for the matter of that believed, by the powers that be. Amos concluded his message with the excellent Zionist doctrine that "God will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked out of their land which He has given them."

Isaiah, more than a hundred years before the destruction of the First Temple, iterated and reiterated the doctrine of *Sh'ar Yashub*: "A remnant shall return." In the same breath that he foretold national ruin, he promised the resumption of a purified national life by a fraction of the people in later times, who would take up the national-spiritual role for which God had destined the Jewish people from the beginning.

And the great unknown Prophet, whom for lack of better knowledge we call the Second Isaiah, arose in the Babylonian captivity to

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preach, in terse, vivid phrases, that Palestine would become the center of the world; that all the peoples would be drawn there by the spiritual and moral power generated by the People Israel.

Ezra and Nehemiah

The return to the Holy Land under Ezra and Nehemiah was curiously like the present return under modern Zionism. It was made possible by the declaration and good will of the government of an Empire; and it, too, was undertaken by a very small part of the Jewish people, strengthened and supported in their effort by those who stayed behind. But, at the time, it must have seemed to have far less international significance than the present movement, and also, since it took place after only seventy instead of two thousand years of exile, it was less extraordinary and marvelous.

The Jewish Golden Age in the Future

The Jews have ever seen a divine purpose in their history. It is this which gave us strength to endure. The ideal of the millenium is bound up with the life of the Jewish people.

Always the Jewish idea of the golden age differed from the beliefs of the other peoples of the ancient world (with whom the Jews were coeval). For the Greeks, for instance, the golden age had coincided with the childhood of the human race, with its "age of innocence," as it were. The Jew, on the contrary, always set the millenium ahead of his own day—which proves what an incorrigible optimist he is. His faith in progress, in the divine, upward trend of human nature, has never wavered, however seemingly conclusive his experience to the contrary.

Persistence of the National Ideal in Many Forms

The national significance of the Maccabean revolt must not be overlooked. Begun as a defensive war against the religious oppression of Antiochus who would have destroyed Judaism by enforcing idol worship and the desecration of Jewish Law, it ended as the mightiest effort to preserve political and national independence ever displayed by so small a nation. So closely are Jewish religion and Jewish nationality interwoven.

In the early days after the destruction of the Second Commonwealth by the Romans, the regaining of national independence was still thought of in political terms, as witness the rebellion of Bar Kochba. Though Rabbi Akiba hailed Bar Kochba as the Messiah, his

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rabbinical colleagues and the bulk of the Jewish people regarded him as a political rebel. His failure, tragic as it was, did not militate against the Messianic hope, because that was a thing apart in the minds of the people.

We must not forget how closely the study of the Law at this period was bound up with national life and hope. Akiba himself died a martyr because he persisted in studying Jewish Law, in defiance of the Roman prohibition. That prohibition was of course on national grounds. When, half a century earlier, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Johanan ben Zakkai had asked and obtained permission to found the Academy at Jabneh, he did so to preserve the Jewish national spirit even though the national body was stricken. The Law was to be preserved for the certain future national restoration. This same hope and faith underlie all the legalism of the Diaspora.

Christianity arose at the time when the whole ancient world was on edge with expectation for the Messiah, the savior, who would set up a new order of things, and provide the corrupt pagan civilization with ideals worth living for. Though Christianity grew out of Jewish soil, both literally and figuratively, the Messiahship of Jesus was at first ignored and then emphatically rejected by the consensus of Jewish opinion. Christianity has had not the slightest influence—except by negation—upon the trend of the Messianic idea or of Jewish thought generally.

As the darkness of the middle ages settled down upon Europe, the Jews were subjected to breath-taking cruelties. The simplest, most elementary human rights were withheld from them; and they had to exist as best they could on the tolerance of the devotees of the religion of love. The Jews kept alive because they came of a race endowed with such superb physical and spiritual vitality that it would not die. But neither could it live. And so, while Europe lay in the torpor of the middle ages, the Jews lived in a state of suspended animation, and dreamed their way through those dark days.

And the Jewish nation continued to live in the hearts and minds of the Jews. Even after the center of Jewry had been definitely removed from Palestine to Babylon, the Holy Land always remained uppermost with the great leaders of the people—the sages of the Talmud. We need to read only such an injunction as the one calling upon Jews to prefer to live in a Palestinian city, whose inhabitants are mostly non-Jews, rather than in a city outside of Palestine, whose inhabitants are mostly Jews, to understand their feelings on the sub-

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ject. And these feelings are constantly exhibited, and in a hundred different ways—in the law that a man could compel his wife to accompany him to Palestine under penalty of forfeiting her dower right but could not compel her to emigrate from Palestine with him, or in the popular belief that the resurrection of the Jewish dead would take place in Palestine.

As the centuries rolled by, this hope of a return to Palestine never died in the breast of the Jew. As a return in force, however, grew more and more unlikely, the hope took on a spiritual, deeply religious form. The order of daily and holiday prayers, which became fixed during these centuries, is full of references to the return of the divine Presence to the Holy Land.

Nor did days of ease and plenty weaken that yearning, that national passion. The medieval Jewish poets of Spain, in the golden days of Judaism there, sang of Zion, their beloved. And Judah Ha-Levi even translated his poems into action, by leaving home and ease and friends in Spain, to make a pilgrimage to his beloved Zion, at whose gates, legend tells us, he was slain.

The masses of Jews throughout the middle ages were always ready to exchange their state of dispersion for a permanent national home in Palestine. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for example, large settlements of Jews flourished in the principal cities of the Holy Land. These settlements included men of international Jewish renown—men like Nahmanides and Joseph Kara, among many others.

Messianic Predictions and False Messiahs

The possibilities of freedom by political rebellion or by rational measures were excluded. Almost inevitably the Jews fell back for solace upon mystic fancies. They lived in a world of the imagination where the pressure of their outlawed state did not reach their consciousness. The study of *Kabbalah* absorbed Jewish energies for a large part of the middle ages. The *Kabbalah* concerned itself with fanciful investigations of the nature of God, prescribed the degrees (*Sefirot*) through which the human spirit must pass on its path to perfection, and speculated much on the date of the coming of the Messiah, by means of the numeric value of the letters of various biblical texts. When a date so fixed passed without fulfillment, it was simple by another set of ingenious calculations to advance another date. Things came to such a pass that a rabbinic prohibition was passed against such computations, but it did not prove to be

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much of a deterrent. The fancies and legends that cluster about the Messiah and the Messianic era are as pathetically naïve as the popular acceptance of self-appointed, often self-deluded, saviors, the famous pseudo-Messiahs who appeared on the scene all the way from Moses of Crete, in the fifth century, to Sabbatai Zebi, in the seventeenth. It would take us too far afield to discuss all these men, their personalities, their motives and their influence on the fate of large communities of Jews. Among those who stand out in undesirable pre-eminence is Moses of Crete, whose Messiahship resulted in the drowning of a large number of people whom he promised to lead dryshod across the seas to Palestine.

Then there was David Alroy of Bagdad who proclaimed himself Messiah in the twelfth century and organized an armed rebellion. Only a few facts are known about him, and those are swathed in a mass of legends. However, it seems certain that he paid his life for his rashness. He will be recalled as the hero of one of Disraeli's novels.

David Reubeni was a mysterious figure who emerged from Western Asia about 1520. He represented himself as the brother of a Jewish king in Arabia, who was ready to drive the Turks out of Palestine if the Christian governments would furnish him with fire-arms. He managed to be received by the Pope and to have himself invited to the court of the Portuguese king. Though he was very non-committal with the Jews of Spain and Portugal, he was widely acclaimed as the Messiah or the forerunner of the Messiah. Reubeni's mission so worked upon the imagination of a young neo-Christian, Diego Pires, who held a high office in the state, that he voluntarily became a Jew and assumed the name of Solomon Molko. He had delved deeply into the *Kabbalah*, and preached the approach of the Messianic era, the return to Palestine, and his own Messiahship. He attached himself to Reubeni. Finally, they both lost their lives through their diplomatic activities.

A most unfortunate and unprecedented effect was left upon Jewish history by another disciple of the *Kabbalah*, Sabbatai Zebi, of Smyrna, who not only proclaimed himself Messiah, but blasphemously claimed to be God incarnate. The whole Jewish world was in a ferment, from Western Europe to Asia Minor. The soberest of men went wild with frenzy, and wound up their business affairs in expectation of the return to Palestine and the end of the world. Even Christian circles were affected. Though the impostor turned Moham-medan to save his life, all sorts of delusions were cherished about him.

THE NATIONAL IDEAL IN JEWISH HISTORY

The pseudo-Messianism of Sabbatai Zebi did immeasurable harm, and an aftermath of self-appointed successors sprouted up in Turkey, in Egypt, in Poland, and in Germany.

The lamentable careers of the pseudo-Messiahs by this time conclusively demonstrated that while the *Kabbalah* contained many pure and noble elements and stimulated a sort of saintliness, it was dangerously susceptible to misuse. The rabbis henceforth discouraged its general study, and this time effectively. New historic forces, too, began to leaven Europe in the eighteenth century, and the new intellectual tendencies would in any event have relegated mysticism to obscure byways.

Zionism Expresses Modern Needs

With the emancipation of the Jews modern Zionism became inevitable. For one thing, the legalism and the national safeguards of Ghetto segregation were destroyed and left Jewish nationalism in greater danger than at any other time during the dispersion. For another thing, the freedom, power, and material resources of the Jews once again opened up the possibility of a rational, political restoration to their land.

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The Messiah Idea in Jewish History, by J. Greenstone. Lecture, Department of Education: *The Zionist Ideal in Jewish History*.

Subjects for Papers:

Sabbatai Zebi and his followers. The Zionist poetry of the Spanish period. The legal distinctions in the Talmud between Palestine and the Diaspora.

CHAPTER V

EMANCIPATION, HASKALAH, REFORM

Jewish Emancipation Part of Eighteenth Century Liberalism

The beginnings of the civil emancipation of Jewry in Western Europe late in the eighteenth century were part of the general movement of national and social forces. Until then the Jews had lived everywhere segregated in their Ghettos, either actively persecuted or passively shunned, considered as aliens with no civil rights and also as religious outcasts with no human rights. The Renaissance of the sixteenth century, which brought to birth the nationalism of Europe in conflict with the imperialism of Catholic Rome, did so on a racial basis, and therefore only embittered the feeling against the Jews. The Jews were not permitted to leave Medievalism and their Ghettos until after the French Revolution. The eighteenth century's ideas of freedom and of "the rights of man", were a revolt against personal privilege within the state, including race privilege. The ruling class in most nations belonged to a ruling race; the race which at one time had conquered and subjected the population. Hence eighteenth century liberalism first raised the ideal which all civilized nations have since accepted: That citizenship and not race is the basis of national unity. In the effort to obliterate race distinctions within the democracy, in the only form in which they were then known, that of race privilege, national cultures and values were not respected. The ideal of the rights of small nations had not yet emerged. Civil and individual rights were granted on the basis of the "equality of man" within the nation. The universalism or cosmopolitanism then preached was a form of self-deception, and was in fact a means of solidifying the new conglomerate democratic nations.

To be consistent, eighteenth-century liberal Europe had to emancipate the Jews. The Jews had been deprived of both their national and their personal rights, and when it seemed possible to them to obtain their personal rights under conditions which appealed to their democratic nature, they either failed to see or were willing to accept the danger to their national existence. The opportunity of western enlightenment, of decent living and of political freedom could not be refused.

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Moses Mendelssohn and German Jewish Assimilation

The Jewish people, emerging from the twilight of Ghetto medievalism into the glare of European nationalism, was dazzled and bewildered. But, as usual, the Jews—who are said to be the most adaptable people in the world—made a brave attempt at adjustment. Forerunner of the Reform movement in Germany and also indirectly of the *Haskalah* movement in Russia, was Moses Mendelssohn. A great personality in German as well as in Jewish life, scholar, philosopher, and educator, he stands at the head of Jewish liberalism. But as with many another teacher, the course of events that resulted from his influence was the opposite of what he would have desired. Born in Dessau, in northern Germany, in 1729, he came to Berlin as a young Talmudic scholar, and soon attracted the attention of both Jews and Christians by his gifts of mind and character. He became a leader with a definite goal: To win the political emancipation of the German Jews through their intellectual emancipation. If the Jew would be free to leave his Ghetto, he must learn to live like his German neighbor. For the sake of teaching not the Bible but German to the Yiddish-speaking Jews, Mendelssohn translated the Bible into classic German. He advocated the secular German school for Jewish children. But he also fathered a new Hebrew development and advocated, and always practised, the life and ritual of traditional Judaism. The effect of his teaching, however, was to make Germanization and de-Judaization the chief object of the German Jew. His own children were converted to Christianity and married Christians. Mendelssohn died in Berlin, in 1786.

With Mendelssohn as their leader, there had grown up a school of propagandists of European culture through the medium of the Hebrew language—for this purpose they published a Hebrew journal called *ha-Meassef*—but neither the development of German nor of Hebrew as a means of adjusting the Jew to emancipation had the expected result. Germanization led to apostasy; Hebraization led in the end through its development in Russia, to Jewish nationalism and Zionism. In Germany itself Hebrew was discarded as a literary medium as soon as possible, and the later “Jewish Science” of the German Jewish scholars was written not in Hebrew, but in German.

Elijah of Vilna

In Russia, where the Hebrew revival as a means to modern culture was to have marvelous and unforeseen effects, the forerunner of “enlightenment” was Elijah of Vilna, the *Gaon*, (1720-1779), a true

Jewish sage whose gentleness and sanity and learning went far towards saving Russian Jewry from the perversions of a false conception of assimilation. He reintroduced not only the study of modern science, philosophy and mathematics, but he purified the study of the Talmud, insisting on accurate knowledge of Hebrew grammar and the Bible, and a vital, rational way of approaching Jewish learning. Through his inspiration was founded the greatest of modern Talmudical colleges, the Tree of Life Academy at Wolosin. And his influence, founded on no assumed authority but solely on the power of his wisdom and character, no doubt shaped the course of events, if only by keeping intact for a later time the spirit of Hebraism.

The Haskalah Movement in Russia

The *Haskalah* movement means literally "enlightenment". In Russia was concentrated the best educated and most vital part of the Jewish people. The reign of Alexander II seemed to offer the Jews an outlet from the Ghetto into Russian and European life and culture. If the Russian Jew were to take his place among Russians, he must acquire that secular education which is the common heritage of mankind. Hitherto his whole education had been traditionally Jewish, based on the Bible and more especially on the Talmud.

The *Gaon* had done much to keep that secularization thoroughly Jewish. The Russian Jews used their own classic Hebrew as the vehicle, by means of translations, for all modern knowledge. Stimulated at first by the *Meassefim* imported from Germany, there grew up a virile secular literature in Hebrew. (See Chapter XVI.) However some of the *Maskilim*—preachers of *Haskalah*—may have repudiated Jewish religious and national segregation, they nevertheless strengthened one of the firmest of all national bonds, the national language. The movement was a break from traditional Judaism rather than from Jewish nationalism. The obscurantist religion of the *Hassidim*, (a mystic ecstatic sect founded by Baal Shem Tov as a protest against formalism and emotional decay, but that degenerated into superstition), hastened that break by fermenting the religious atmosphere and discrediting both Talmudism and itself. Many were the brilliant Jewish personalities of this period in Russia, among them Leon Gordon, Perez Smolenskin, and M. L. Lilienblum, which would well repay detailed study. (See Ch. XVI.)

Reaction to Jewish Nationalism

The reaction after the death of Alexander II and the Russian persecutions of the eighties, forced the Jews to realize that the

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attempt at assimilation would never bring them true freedom. Then the *Maskilim*, with their strong Hebraic background, quickly reacted to national emotion, and in many cases became Zionist leaders. Leo Pinsker was one of these. His father, a *Maskil*, was master of a secular Hebrew school. Jewish nationalism, stripped of its ancient protection, traditional Judaism, cried out for a new means of preservation, and so made itself felt with new force.

The French Revolution

In France the Revolution, with its slogan of "liberty, equality, fraternity," automatically brought civil emancipation to the Jews, an emancipation in political life which had to be struggled for bit by bit in every other country except only the United States of America, which had now also emerged into full political freedom. But even France fell short of American ideals of racial freedom. The Jewish question as a national question was not solved by individual civil emancipation. Both in France, under the imperial reaction of Napoleon and in Germany, the Jews felt themselves faced with this choice: Jewish nationality or a European nationality. Napoleon called a *Sanhedrin* of Rabbis in Paris, in 1807, to clarify the Jewish position. The Rabbis practically bartered Jewish national existence for French citizenship. They defined Judaism as merely a religious persuasion.

The Reform Movement in Germany

The Reform movement in Germany, which took rise in the generation following Mendelssohn, stood midway between those whose enlightenment ended in conversion and those who adhered rigidly to traditional Judaism. The impulse behind it was a praiseworthy and thoroughly Jewish one, the desire to adjust Jewish life to changed conditions. It claimed, in fact, to be the savior of Judaism, a compromise that alone could save Judaism from utter destruction. It accentuated Jewish religion purely as a belief—religion in the western, Christian sense. The avowed purpose was to make Germans of the emancipated Jews by denying Jewish nationality. The German Jews were called "Germans of the Mosaic persuasion." Relief was to be the only bond between Jews, and Judaism was to be saved without the Jewish people. This sacrifice of a patriotism preserved through 2,000 years of heroic struggle was made ostensibly out of gratitude for bare justice received, really out of fear of renewed injustice. Therefore Jewish worship was gradually stripped of all national elements, of the Hebrew language, of the prayers for the restoration of

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Zion, and of those ritual laws which may be called sublimated national customs. Reform Judaism arose in an individualistic age; it too was individualistic. The Jew accepted his personal civic liberty at the price of the spiritual freedom of the Jewish people. Reform Judaism offered him a philosophy, a system of truth and ethics, quite harmless, which he could accept without injuring his social and civic life. It evolved the ideal of a Jewish mission in dispersion, of teaching the unity of God to the nations. But unfortunately the missionaries were out of date. That part of Judaism which they were to teach, ethical monotheism, is already common human property, no longer distinctively Jewish. Hence, it could not hold even Jews together, much less influence progressive humanity. What is more, Reform Judaism imitated in its method Protestant Christianity, a religion which is also losing its vitality. In an age of religious upheaval, it could only imitate, not create and lead, as Judaism has always done. It became a respectable and pleasant path toward assimilation.

But other forces, among them the negative force of anti-Semitism and the positive force of Zionism, blocked the way of Reform Judaism toward its goal of painless death. In our day many Reform Jews, among them Reform Rabbis, have come into the Zionist movement, because they realize that reforming the ritual of Judaism in no way affects its national significance, and that Jewish religion in any form today depends for its vitality on the renationalization of the Jewish people. Zionism alone can solve not only the national but also the religious problem of the Jews, and perhaps of the whole world. Everywhere we see a new national life springing up beside religions that belong to a dead past, and everywhere the nations are groping for faith. May not the Jewish nation, which alone sees in religion the expression of social, of community living and of national and political justice, hold once more the religious salvation of mankind in its hands?

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CHAPTER VI

ANTI-SEMITISM AND JEWISH NATIONALISM

"And Haman said unto King Ahasuerus: There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people, neither keep they the king's laws; therefore it profiteth not the king to suffer them."

National Persistence after Defeat Is Cause of Anti-Semitism

These lines from the *Book of Esther* give the underlying cause and motive of all anti-Semitism. Primarily, anti-Semitism is the fault of the Jews, for remaining Jewish. Had the Jews disappeared, naturally Jew-hatred would have disappeared with them. Our crime is to have remained alive as a distinct people, to have defied the loss and destruction of our land, and to have maintained our spirit and will. Nor can we escape that hatred by clipping off this or that element of our Jewishness—our religion, our patriotism, our legalism—for the name Jew designates that ancient people which was conquered and dispersed from its land 2,000 years ago, and whose crime is to refuse to die. Only complete disappearance can satisfy our foes. Or a change of front on the part of humanity, a new conception of the rights of nationality, may eliminate our foe. That new conception of national rights, in also granting us our land, would justify and satisfy the national aspiration of 2,000 years.

Jew Hatred in Old Times

We must distinguish between anti-Semitism in modern Western Europe and the Jew-hatred of earlier times. Anti-Semitism is an intellectualized form of the older instinctive antagonism. In old times the primitive feeling against the stranger or alien, who had no land of his own and yet held aloof from assimilation, took various forms of prejudice and superstition. From the first dispersion of the Jews in Greece and Rome, even before the Christian Era, we find this antagonism, sometimes taking literary forms. The Jews are accused of worshipping a pig or an ass's head, of being descended from a race of lepers who were driven out of Egypt, etc., etc. In Christian times

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the hatred took a religious form, though not without political implications. The sharpest break between Jews and Christians in early times probably came from the Jews, through their bitter resentment against the early Christianizing Jews who refused to take part in the Jewish national struggle against Rome, and who even acted as informers to the Romans. Throughout the middle ages, and even to our own time, religious Jew-hatred was based on the assumption that the Jews had killed Christ, that they were originally the chosen people, but by their denial of the divinity of Christ had forfeited that heritage, which became the spiritual heritage of all Christians. The Jews are rejected of God; the Christians become his chosen people. Thus the nations deprived Israel not only of his land, but tried to rob him also of his spiritual patrimony. So long as Christianity lasts in its traditional forms this hatred must have to the Christian mind a logical justification. However, this religious aversion was often used merely as a cloak for economic antagonism. The Jew, looked upon as a foreigner, could not accumulate wealth without arousing envy. His peculiar situation as a countryless sojourner who could not own land, drove him naturally into commercial occupations; and gradually restrictions in most countries forced him exclusively into brokerage and into usury. He became practically the property of the nobility and kings, and so was used by them in many cases as an instrument to fleece the common people. Then the nobility, to protect themselves, often found it expedient to turn popular hatred against their vassal Jews. The forms of persecution practised were generally forced segregation in Ghettos, forced conversion at the point of the sword, expulsion from cities or whole countries, riot and murder—sometimes wholesale murder—and all of these offered opportunities for plunder. During the middle ages, the forms of persecution were especially violent and horrible, as in the time of the Crusades, but the periods between allowed of much freedom and development. The bitterest degradation of the Jew came after the Reformation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the general hatred and oppression of the Jews was most systematic and constant. It may be called the darkest period in the history of the Jewish dispersion. Gleams of light there were, also, and the first dawning of a new day, especially in England and Holland. But altogether the effect on the Jews was terrible. An intensification and narrowing of national life took place that shut the Jew into Medievalism when all the world was striding forward. Jewish obscurantism in the Ghettos turned against all modern culture, and fed the suffering national spirit only on Talmudic

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lore and on the hard nuts of a legalism which could not function in life. Also, the long and bitter oppression, the social ostracism and the terrible economic suffering which forced upon them low standards of living, often gave the Jews those repelling social habits, obsequiousness and lack of decorum, which became an excuse for social prejudice.

Modern Anti-Semitism—Social and Political

That social prejudice came into full swing after legal emancipation in the nineteenth century. When the Jew came forth from his Ghetto with his sharpened wits, he rose at once to the top level in every profession and walk of life, and yet of course retained his personality. Quickly enough, in less than a generation, does he throw off the Ghetto habits; but he still pours forth from the Ghetto; and not only Gentiles, but even Jews, foolishly describe as the effect of his superficial manners a prejudice that is rooted in quite other ground.

In speaking of modern anti-Semitism, Russia and Rumania are left out of account, as there the conditions are still those of an earlier period, and Jew-hatred runs the old cruel course with certain quite modern aggravations; for example, the exclusion in Russia, until the Revolution, of Jews from schools and colleges, and the laws of segregation in the Pale which outdid perhaps all previous Ghetto restrictions. In Rumania, Jews are considered and treated as aliens with no civic rights but that of compulsory military service. In Poland, the popular economic persecution has had a distinctly nationalist coloring. To say nothing of the savage cruelty against the Jews practised in all these lands during the war.

Modern political anti-Semitism was born in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, that is, after 1870. It was a natural result of the new German national spirit. Its occasion was the breaking of the bubble of over-speculation that resulted from the huge French indemnity. In that burst bubble a number of Jews—as well as non-Jews—were implicated. However, the Jews were the scapegoats. Two Jews, Edward Lasker and Ludwig Bamberger, had played a leading part in creating, in 1866, the National Liberal Party, which included the great majority of German Jews, and which had helped Bismarck to weld the German States into an empire. Naturally, the anti-Semitic agitation took political form, especially when Bismarck no longer needed the Liberal Party, but was glad to use anti-Semitism as an instrument for its overthrow. An anti-Semitic political party arose, which later had its counterpart in Austria, but Bismarck gave the party no further support after it had served his purposes, and to-

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day it is practically out of existence. However, anti-Semitism as an intellectual force, with dire physical and social consequences, continued to develop. It has been the stronghold of conservatism, in France and in Germany; in the former its hotbed was the army, which brought forth the Dreyfus case, and raised a storm of popular anti-Jewishness which was a staggering blow to those who had put their faith in French liberalism. However, the French Government vindicated itself by its just verdict. In Germany and German Austria, anti-Semitism has been chiefly official and literary. Government positions and commissions in the army, as well as university honors, have been withheld from Jews. All professional advancement has at times been barred. The highest point of repression was reached in 1882; then the pogroms in Russia shocked the Germans into their senses.

Literary anti-Semitism is based on various philosophic theses that merge into each other. First, the Christian or Christian Socialist: This sees in Judaism a disintegrating force that must naturally undermine Christianity and Christian national life, and that is responsible, since Jewish emancipation, for the decay of Christianity and the consequent upheavals in European Christian nationalism. Curiously enough, this conservative view was linked with a form of Socialism, which saw in the Jews the typical bourgeoisie and capitalists. Second, the economic: This is very complicated, since its inception was with the landlord class, the *Junkers*, who fought, in the Jew, the bourgeoisie. Later the Christian bourgeoisie turned against the Jew as the Socialist. Always it was the Jew who was held responsible—really too great a compliment. It is true that the Jew is often a revolutionist. Since he believes justice can and must be attained on this earth, he must fight for it; since he holds all men equally children of God, he insists on democracy; and his sense of personal dignity gives him a love of freedom. Also, he belongs to an oppressed minority. But, with all his share in the leadership of social revolution, he is not responsible for the spiritual awakening of Europe. Third, the ethnological: Scientific claims—which have been since discredited by science—try to prove the inferiority of the Semitic race to the ruling Aryan race, the danger to Europe of an infusion of Jewish blood and Jewish ideals, and go so far as to try to prove that Jesus was an Aryan. As a matter of fact, neither of these “races” can be proved to exist. Fourth, the anti-Christian, typified by Nietzsche. This attacks not only Judaism as the religion of the weak and cowardly, but also Christianity as a product of Judaism, and sees the superman in him who lives by his power to overcome and rule others.

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Racial Basis of Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism, arising in Western Europe, after emancipation had actually succeeded in denationalizing a large section of the Jews, stood on a racial foundation, as was indicated by its name, and so made it clear that only the complete elimination of the Jews as a people could eliminate Jew-hatred. The answer to such a challenge could be only either surrender or defiance—assimilation or Zionism. Accordingly it was said by the foes of Zionism—by the capitulators—that Zionism was merely a negative movement, a council of despair, springing from anti-Semitism. The falsity of this view need hardly be pointed out. Zionism arose in its might because Jewish nationality was threatened. It was the active militant heir of the passive nationalism of the Ghetto. It is true that to men like Leo Pinsker and Theodor Herzl an anti-Semitic outbreak was the direct occasion of their Zionist activity. However, that merely means that they suddenly realized wherein lies the only Jewish salvation. Men of another temperament would perhaps have been converted instead.

Zionist Attitude Toward Anti-Semitism

To the Zionist anti-Semitism loses its paramount importance. Social anti-Semitism he can ignore, because his realization of positive Jewish values makes him less the dupe of social whims. And even in the more violent forms of anti-Semitism he sees a passing phase that must disappear when the Jew is renationalized and again becomes normal, when segregation and separatism and alienism lose their purpose in the dispersion, because the Jew is secure in his own homeland. The Zionist demands justice to the Jew everywhere, which includes the national justice due to the claim on his land. The burning question is no longer anti-Semitism. The burning question is Jewish rehabilitation. So the Zionist feels himself free to ignore prejudices and false deductions; as a citizen from choice in every country, he feels himself justified in working for the repatriation of the nucleus of the Jewish people which desires to return to its homeland. By dropping apologetics and assuming this positive position, he has won the respect of the non-Jewish world, which now sees in the Jewish question, and partly through the Jewish question, the claim for justice to all the small and disinherited peoples.

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CHAPTER VII

FORERUNNERS OF ZIONISM*

Two ideas are implied in the term "Forerunners of Zionism". For one thing, the word "forerunners" gives notice that we are speaking of Zionism in the political sense, and that we refer to the movement founded by Herzl in 1897. That this modern Zionist movement is no abrupt innovation, but is part and parcel of an ancient and dominant Jewish motive, is our second implication.

Our primary purpose is to describe the men and the activities that preceded Herzl and political Zionism during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The names of Moses Hess, Hirsch Kalischer, Perez Smolenskin, Leo Pinsker, and Ahad Ha-Am loom large in the annals of Jewish nationalism of modern times. Each of these men was a distinct type, varying as widely as only Jews can vary, and yet they were closely akin, identical almost, in their conclusion that for the Jew all roads lead to Zion.

These protagonists of Jewish nationalism had contemporary incentives not only in Jewish misery, but also in the nationalist strivings of their times. When Greece and Italy—to mention notable examples—secured their national independence, the sympathies of all of cultured Europe were with them. Byron and the Brownings at once come to mind when the Greek and Italian struggles for independence are recalled. And it is frustrated, but rightful, national aspirations, that kept Europe in turmoil throughout the nineteenth century.

In German Jewry, the denationalizing motive of the Reform movement was very strongly opposed by the Orthodox party. But even though Orthodoxy whole-heartedly held to the principle of Jewish nationality (which had never before been questioned), it stood, after all, for a *status quo* policy. It prayed for and devoutly believed in the restoration; but by way of a Heaven-sent Messiah who would appear miraculously. Practical measures were thought to be an impious forcing of the hand of Providence.

Moses Hess

We nevertheless find in the 60's of the nineteenth century men strongly opposed to the Reformers, and yet willing to do practical

* By Lotta Levensohn.

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work to redeem their people. Foremost among the "Forerunners of Zionism",—Herzl's predecessors in Germany—stand Moses Hess (1812-1875), and Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874). Their intellectual outlook and their method of approaching the problem of the Eternal Jew were poles apart, but their conclusions were the same. The Communist-Socialist Hess's admiration for the Orthodox Rabbi is shown by his quoting entire Kalischer's draft of a plan for colonizing Palestine, in his own work on Jewish nationalism, *Rom und Jerusalem*. Early in his career, Hess was a Communist. He was a contemporary of Karl Marx, the converted Jew, and became a tower of strength to Socialism. But, unlike Marx, Hess realized that the cosmopolitanism of his day, which ignored the historic evolution of races and nationalities, could not be the last word. Hess, a humanitarian of the warmest and widest sympathies, outlined, half a century ago, in *Rom und Jerusalem*, ideas that are only now becoming common property, as they have been forged on the anvil of the terrible World War; the self-determination of the small peoples without let or hindrance by the great powers—master-nations, he called them; the indisputable and equal rights of small nations; the fact that every cultural-historical group has something of its own to contribute to civilization; and that relations between nation and nation ought to be based not on armaments but on justice—the League of Nations, as our new phrase has it. Only through a family of nations, based on social and economic justice within the respective states, could the millenium come. That humanity and human institutions must, in the nature of things, be on the road to perfection, he never dreamed of doubting. It logically followed, from his premises, that the Jewish people must again be constituted to take its place among the nations, not only because of the justice of its claim to freedom, but also because its genius was represented in one of the two great cultures that had influenced civilization for 2,000 years—Hebraism and Hellenism. The Jewish people still had much to contribute, but could do so only on the basis of a normal national life; that is, political independence in a land of its own. This was so important, he said, that if emancipation—necessary as it was—could be had only on the surrender of Jewish nationalism, he would forego emancipation. He was a political Zionist, too, because he strongly urged that colonization in Palestine be placed under some form of international guarantee, preferably with a French protectorate.

Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer

Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, of Thorn, Prussia, a learned Talmudist, through word and deed fostered agricultural settlement in Palestine by

East European Jews. His premise was religious, as Hess's was economic and nationalistic. In his *D'rishat Zion*, published in the same year as *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862), he laid down the principle that the ancestral land must be reclaimed by natural, practical measures. The Messiah would surely appear, but after, and not before, the Jewish people had done all that was humanly possible. As he saw it, God helps him who helps himself. Kalischer's agitation inspired the founding of the *Mikveh Israel* Agricultural School near Jaffa by Charles Netter of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in 1871, and also gave rise to two or three unsuccessful attempts at founding Jewish settlements. Nevertheless, he achieved something of two-fold value. He gained sympathy for Palestinian colonization in rigidly Orthodox circles, and he inspired the first organized attempt in 2,000 years to reclaim Palestinian soil by Jewish labor.

Perez Smolenskin, *Maskil*

In Russia, the occasional gleams of freedom in the nineteenth century gave way in the early 80's to pogroms and further restrictions of the Pale of Settlement. When the humanitarian phrases of the time turned to Dead Sea fruit in the mouths of cosmopolitan Jews, it was natural that they should seek comfort in the warmth of their own fold. However, it is not just to ascribe the rising wave of Jewish nationalist sentiment in Russia, at that time, merely to the reflex action of anti-Semitism. We must remember the intense Jewish self-consciousness of the masses fostered by centuries of seclusion in Ghettos, their absorption in the study of the *Torah*, their persistent, unalterable belief that in God's good time—when Israel should have atoned for its early sins—they would be restored to *Erez Israel*. The Messianic idea had gathered only strength with the passing ages, and in a time of technical and political progress, the old hope clothed itself in new garments.

As the culture of the nineteenth century penetrated to the dark Russian Ghettos, it was avidly welcomed by the younger generation—through the medium of biblical Hebrew! Hebrew was the medium of transmission for poetry, literature, philosophy, science, modern language, for everything, in fact! (See Ch. V and XVI.) The movement for enlightenment, the *Haskalah*, was spread with characteristic Jewish zeal and energy. However, for nearly a generation the tendency was to set up new idols in place of the old Jewish God. The older generation, most of whom had bitterly opposed admitting the knowledge of the Gentiles, now pointed out that the results more than justified

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their attitude. It has been well said that the "*Haskalah* was a right step, but in the wrong direction." The introduction to general culture became a signal to cast off Judaism and Jewish ties. In the end, the poison produced its own antidote. The fullest Russification did not serve, it appeared, to avert pogroms, or the May Laws which congested the Pale to the stifling point. It remained for one of the most gifted of the *Maskilim* to point out that the true path of the *Haskalah* lay through Jewish nationalism. Perez Smolenskin (1842-1885), writer and poet, was an inspiring exponent of the nationalism of the Prophets. The *Am Olam*, the Eternal People, he said, has an eternal spiritual-cultural task. In Palestinian colonization he saw the first stepping-stone towards his aim. The Hebrew language he loved for its own sake, and as the vehicle of the Prophetic message. He founded a little monthly journal, *Hashahar* (The Dawn), and kept it going at the most painful sacrifices. A group of young *Maskilim* gathered about Smolenskin, and the *Hashahar* served both as a medium for nationalist propaganda and for the evolution of modern literary Hebrew. He strove for a synthesis of modern culture with the Hebraic spirit, and saw in that synthesis, that assimilation to itself of western progress and civilization, the only possibility of a full development for Jewish national life. It was to be a reversed assimilation, not the Jew lost in the world, but adding the world to his own spiritual possessions.

Leo Pinsker

More closely akin to Herzl than any other of his forerunners was Leo Pinsker (1821-1891), a Russian physician and *Maskil*, who resembled Herzl both in his method of approach to the Jewish problem, and in his proposal to deal with it by political measures. Though Pinsker had never been remote from the Jewish people, it was the pogroms and the May Laws which stung him to take thought for the position of the Jews, just as the Dreyfus case was later to bring Herzl to self-realization. In his brochure *Auto-Emancipation* (since become one of the classics of Zionism), written in 1882, Pinsker analyzes the Jewish situation. Both his logic and his sense of dignity bring him to the conclusion that there is no remedy but by way of self-help, and that self-help must be achieved through political means. The Jewish people is an anomaly among the nations, he contends: it is neither alive, as a properly constituted nation ought to be, with a common land, language, and institutions; nor is it dead, as might reasonably be expected of a people so long deprived of the attributes of nationhood. Instead, the Jews are the living-dead, a ghost-nation that

inspires fear (and therefore hatred) in the living nations. They lack group-consciousness, national dignity, national self-respect; consequently, they can inspire no respect in others. They are everywhere aliens, and do not receive the toleration accorded to other foreigners, who can reciprocate both good and ill in their own homelands. The cry of economic exploitation is raised against the Jews, despite their dire mass-poverty. Nor is there a Jewish nation with which the other nations can treat; they know only Jews, to be used as interest or prejudice may dictate. There can be but two alternative courses of action open to the Jews: Assimilation, national suicide consciously planned; or, reconstitution as a nation among the nations. The present state is intolerable. Assimilation is the way of death. Even if self-destruction were not abhorrent, the other nations could not and would not absorb so many millions of a strongly characterized race. If the path of life be chosen, the national self-consciousness must be stimulated, until by organized effort, self-help becomes possible. "We are no more justified," he says, "in leaving our national fortunes in the hands of other peoples, than we are in making them responsible for our national misfortunes." He refers to the rise of small nationalities in Europe in the early nineteenth century. "Would not similar action on the part of the Jews be justified?" Political action is the only adequate method of self-help. First and foremost comes the question of a homeland. When writing *Auto-Emancipation*, he held no brief for Palestine. The God-idea and the Bible would make holy any land whither the Jewish people took them. He was to learn, as Herzl learned, how inbred is the attachment of the Jewish masses to Palestine. The land was to be honorably acquired by purchase, the Great Powers concurring. The means he proposed were actualized (though he did not live to see it) in the Zionist Congress, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the National Fund, the Palestine Bureau and the *Ahoozahs*. But in 1882 the times were not yet ripe for a great political movement. The then existing Palestine colonization societies (the *Hoveve Zion*) rallied about Pinsker, and his call for an international conference eventuated in November, 1884, at Kattowitz (Silesia). (See Ch. VIII and XXIV.) A federation was formed, of which Pinsker became president. The *Hoveve Zion* embarked on no political activity, and confined themselves strictly to practical colonizing work in Palestine, which in itself strained their resources. Wisely, Pinsker took half a loaf when no more was to be had. His political ideas were not forgotten, and, indeed, prepared the ground for the Zionist movement in very definite ways.

FORERUNNERS OF ZIONISM

The Kadimah

Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* became a "Bible" for all the nationally-minded Jewish university students of the time. At the University of Vienna, which seethed with anti-Semitism, the Russian and Rumanian Jewish students were organized by Smolenskin, Birnbaum, and other leading nationalists, into a society which was destined for an important part in the genesis of the Zionist movement. They called it *Kadimah*, the Hebrew for both "Eastward" and "Forward". The *Kadimah* gave the impetus to the formation of Jewish students' societies and federations all over Central and Eastern Europe, which did much at the universities to invest the Jewish name with a dignity before unthought of. When Herzl published his *Judenstaat*, the *Kadimah* petitioned him to take the lead in executing his own ideas. They were his devoted lieutenants in the enormous preparations for the first Zionist Congress at Basle and, at the Congress itself, joyously served as pages and ushers. The *Kadimah* has ever since been a training ground for Zionist workers and leaders.

Lilienblum and Mohilewer

Among those who did yeoman's work for Palestinian colonization were Moshe Loeb Lilienblum (1843-1911) and Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer (1824-1898). Lilienblum was of the type of the earlier *Maskilim*, who believed that the Russification of the Jews would solve all their problems. The pogroms brought him a rude awakening, as they did so many others of his mind. Lilienblum was converted to Jewish nationalism by Pinsker. He became secretary of the *Hoveve Zion* federation, and did much to further Palestinian colonization through his literary propaganda.

Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer consistently advocated European culture for the Russian Jews. With his balanced outlook, however, he could not imagine that university education alone would save the sorely oppressed people. He enlisted the invaluable aid of Baron Edmond de Rothschild for Palestinian colonization, and tried, though unsuccessfully, to induce Baron de Hirsch, also, to concentrate his efforts on Palestine. Rabbi Mohilewer himself was one of the leading spirits in the founding of the Jewish village of Rehobot by a group of well-to-do Russian Jews. When the political Zionist movement arose, he supported it with might and main. He even left a Zionist testament to the Jewish people, written on the day before his death.

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Ahad Ha-Am and Eliezer ben Yehudah

The factors that went to the making of Zionism are in their nature practical, political, and, supremely important from the Jewish standpoint, spiritual. We have seen that once the *Haskalah* movement found its true course in Jewish nationalism, the Prophetic teachings found able and fervent presentation by the *Maskilim*. Concomitantly, the revival of Hebrew proceeded apace. Head and front of the propaganda for the national-spiritual idea is Asher Ginsberg (better known by his pen name of Ahad Ha-Am, "One of the People"), distinguished philosopher and master Hebrew stylist. He was a deeply interested member of the old *Hoveve Zion*. Ahad Ha-Am has been popularly thought to be an opponent of political Zionism. Yet his cardinal idea of a "spiritual center" involves some sort of political status for the Palestinian Jews. It was not that he disapproved of Political Zionism in theory; but he feared, rather, that all the glorious old hopes and teachings would be ignored by a movement frankly organized out of political and economic considerations. As the years went by, Ahad Ha-Am's philosophy took an ever greater hold on many adherents of the Herzlian movement. There is, in truth, no contradiction between Zionism and Ahad Ha-Amism, but rather a synthesis of political and cultural motives blending for a common purpose. (See Ch. XVII.)

One of the surest signs that a spiritual as well as a physical rejuvenation of the Jewish people is in process through contact with the soil of Palestine, is the re-instatement of Hebrew as a living tongue. It was a task that might have daunted the boldest of spirits. Literary and liturgical usage is not precisely the means by which a language is kept flexible and responsive to everyday requirements. It remained for another Russian Jew, and one of the earliest protagonists of Zionism, Eliezer ben Yehudah, to establish Hebrew as the national language in Palestine. He went there a generation ago, and had to work for a while almost single-handed. We know him now as the compiler of a great all-inclusive Hebrew dictionary. To-day the Hebrew speech is alive and virile, and it is the most precious treasure of the New Palestine. (See Ch. XXXII.)

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CHAPTER VIII

HOVEVE ZION*

From the 1860's on, Palestine colonization societies began to spring up. By 1882 there were quite a number of societies all over Europe known as *Hoveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) which constituted, in an informal way, the *Hibbat Zion* movement. Societies were formed also in America. In his *Auto-Emancipation*, Pinsker appealed for a general Jewish assembly to consider the idea of Jewish self-liberation.

The Odessa Committee

As a result, representatives of *Hoveve Zion* societies in various countries gathered at Kattowitz (Silesia) in November, 1884, and formed a federation. It was not until 1890, however, that the federation, which had headquarters in Odessa, was able to obtain official sanction from the Russian Government. It is popularly known as the "Odessa Committee", and has done much to uphold the settlers and to further Jewish education in Palestine. (See Ch. XXIV.) Pinsker became president of the new federation. True, it fell far short of his advanced political thinking, since it could manage only colonizing activities on a very small scale; and of diplomatic negotiation there was no thought. Pinsker did not even live to see the rise of the great political movement that he would so warmly have welcomed.

Early Attempts at Colonization

When the Kattowitz conference was held, Palestinian colonization was already several years old. And a curious and unprecedented picture it presented; a land neglected and sterile for twenty centuries; a few little groups of Jews, from Russia and Rumania, for the most part, rich in idealism and the courageous pioneering spirit, but pitifully poor in information about the inhabitants, the climate, the possibilities of the land, its laws and customs. They had some backing, it is true, in Europe. There were the *Hoveve Zion*, who were at one with them in idealism and love of Palestine; some Orthodox

* By Lotta Levensohn.

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West European Jews who deemed support of *Yishub Erez Israel* a religious duty; the great Jewish philanthropic organizations like the ICA (The Jewish Colonization Association) and the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*; and, in a class by himself, that ever present friend-in-need of the colonists, Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris, "our Baron", as he is affectionately called in Palestine. But the fact remains that *Hibbat Zion*, for all its fervor and idealism, was a philanthropic movement, and that fact had undesirable implications and effects for the colonists.

The Bilu

To appreciate the struggles, the costly errors—costly in terms of human life as well as in money and in time—the grit and courage and "stick-to-itiveness" of the one-time Ghetto dwellers, one must take up the story of the Jewish villages one by one. Even in the most general reference to the new *Yishub*, one must mention the Russian students' organization, the *Bilu* (formed from the Hebrew initials of "O House of Jacob, come, let us go up"). The *Bilu* abandoned their university careers so that they might help to reclaim the land. They were content to do the roughest work for the smallest wage as long as they could give service to the Land, and many gave life itself.

The Measure of Achievement

But those early pioneers learned how to do things, somehow. There are now about fifty Jewish settlements in Judaea, Samaria, Upper and Lower Galilee, and even trans-Jordania. Great vineyards and orange groves form the bases of thriving export industries. The once sterile soil produces grain and olives and vegetables and fruits abundantly. The swamps that cost so many precious lives through malarial infection, have been dried out near the Jewish settlements by the beautiful groves of eucalyptus trees, imported by the Jews from Australia. Police protection in the rural districts was conspicuously absent, though taxes were heavy. A Jewish constabulary was therefore formed (the *Shomerim*). These graduates of Russian and Rumanian Ghettos can ride and shoot well enough to win the respect of the *Bedouin*, themselves not inexpert in such arts.

The Jewish villages suffered much during the philanthropic phase, which lasted, of course, until they could become self-sustaining. When the Zionist Organization began to operate in Palestine, through the National Fund and the Anglo-Palestine Bank, it served a most useful

H O V E V E Z I O N

economic purpose by creating sound conditions of credit for the Jewish settlers.

It is almost redundant to remark that in the Jewish Settlement the needs of the spirit were at no stage neglected, however untoward material conditions. The Jewish educational system of Palestine ranges all the way from the kindergartens to the projected Hebrew University, for which the cornerstone was laid in July, 1918.

(For a fuller account of early colonization, see Ch. XXIV to XXXII.)

Reference:

Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine, by Henrietta Szold; Rural Development; First Period, p. 37.

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CHAPTER IX

THEODOR HERZL*

Boyhood and Youth

Theodor Herzl was born May 21, 1860, in Budapest, the capital of Hungary. His parents, people of fine grain, were in a comfortable financial position. Although he received but a very meager Jewish education, his Jewish pride asserted itself in his earliest years.

When he was eighteen years old, his family removed to Vienna. Here he took up the study of law. In the university he belonged to a student fraternity which decided one day to admit no more Jews to membership while "graciously" allowing those Jews already members to stay. Herzl immediately sent in his resignation to those "elegant young men".

After securing his juridical degree in 1884, he retired to the Tyrolean city of Salzburg, attracted by its beautiful scenery, there to practise his profession. But he gave himself up almost entirely to literature. His enormous capacity for work revealed itself at this time, and resulted in the production of a large number of plays, essays, sketches, critical studies, etc. Many of his plays were successfully produced. He became famous as a journalist and writer of *feuilletons*, or short sketches. His interests were far removed from things Jewish. His literary successes and his travels made him lose touch with the miseries and problems of Jewish life.

"A Jewish State"

In 1891 he went to Paris as correspondent of the Vienna newspaper, *Die Neue Freie Presse*, an event which brought a new turn to his thought and action. He learned the intricacies of French politics, he learned the ways of courts and *salons*—an unconscious preparation for a national task. In Paris the Dreyfus affair was at that time absorbing attention, and there he witnessed such a violent and unreasoning exhibition of hatred and spite against the Jews that he was forced to look into his own soul and define his attitude to his own people. He saw the vast majority of the French nation eager "to convict one Jew,

* By Israel Goldberg.

and, in him, all Jews." He underwent a painful and tremendous inner struggle, from which he emerged with a clear conception of the Jewish problem and with a simple but fundamental plan for its solution. Herzl came back to his own people, not alone to suffer with them, but to lead them to a new and dignified life.

He embodied his ideas in a pamphlet, which he called *The Jewish State*. During the last two months of his stay in Paris he worked on this pamphlet every day, until he was exhausted. While writing, as he tells us in his little *Autobiography*, he seemed to hear the rushing of eagles above his head.

In this pamphlet, Herzl emphasized the following two propositions:

First: The Jews are a distinct nation, whose problem can be solved only by restoring them to a normal national life in a land of their own. He mentions Palestine and Argentina as possible Jewish lands.

Second: The Jewish problem can be solved only through the self-activity of the Jewish people—that is to say, the Jewish problem can be solved only by the Jews themselves.

With the precision of an architect and the inspired vision of a prophet, Herzl proceeds to outline in detail the process of creation of the Jewish State. The "Society of Jews" is to be the recognized political agency for the Jewish people, the "Jewish Company" its financial and executive arm. The territorial rights are to be secured by a charter with the sanction and good-will of all the European governments. Colonization is to proceed by organized groups. The seven-hour working day is to be instituted. The Jewish masses, and even some from the upper classes, will flock to the new land to gain economic and spiritual freedom. "A generation of wonderful Jews will spring from the earth. The Maccabees will rise again." Let the opening words once more be repeated: "The Jews who will it, shall have a State of their own."

Herzl Hailed as Leader

It was neither the intention nor the desire of Herzl to take the lead in a movement for the creation of a Jewish State. Even before publishing his pamphlet he had conferred and corresponded with the great Jewish philanthropist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, who, he hoped, would start the movement. But the timidity and lack of imagination which has characterized so much of Jewish philanthropy made even the great Hirsch unresponsive to Herzl's plea.

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In fact, of the notable Jewish personalities of that day, only one, the famous writer, Max Nordau, came at once to his support. The others remained either hostile or indifferent.

But as for the great masses of the Jewish people, Herzl in his *Judenstaat* had spoken the word for which they were waiting. The first public expression of adherence came from Jewish students in Austria and Germany, from whom he received an address covered with thousands of signatures. From Russia, Galicia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary he received enthusiastic expressions of adherence and pleas for action. Herzl was thus forced by circumstances to take the lead. At the same time, he reached the conclusion that the only land which could fire the imagination and energize the will of the Jewish people was Palestine. From this belief he never swerved. When Herzl wrote the *Judenstaat*, he did not even know that he lived in the same world with others who had seen the same vision. He had never heard of Hess, Kalischer, Pinsker. He did not know of the *Hoveve Zion*; and yet it was he who now gathered under his leadership the various struggling groups of unorganized Zionist enthusiasts. Inspired with his great mission, Herzl now began his career of wonderful activity. In order to acquaint himself with the political and diplomatic ground he made a special journey to Constantinople (April, 1896). He returned buoyantly optimistic, and on his way through Sofia received a stirring ovation from the Bulgarian Jews. In England, although he found opposition or indifference among the rich and distinguished Jews, he was hailed as leader by the Zionists of the East End of London.

The First Zionist Congress

He came to the conclusion that it was most important to win the Jewish masses, and in order to give them the opportunity to declare themselves, as well as to provide a general forum for the discussion of the Jewish problem, he conceived the idea of convening a Jewish Congress. In the name of a commission organized for the purpose, he issued a call for such a Congress, which was to convene in Munich in August, 1897. "The direction of Jewish affairs," said he in this call, "must not be left to the will of individuals, no matter how well-intentioned they may be. A forum must be created, before which each one may be made to account for what he does or fails to do in Jewry."

A storm of opposition arose from most of the prominent Jews of Western Europe, who were unaccustomed and afraid to discuss Jewish affairs openly and before a democratic Jewish body. The representa-

tives of the Munich Jewish community objected to the holding of the Congress in their city. As a result, the Swiss city of Basle was chosen. Finally, a number of German Rabbis, fearful lest their German patriotism be questioned, issued a formal protest against the holding of the Congress. They have been known henceforth as the *Protestrabbiner*. But the enthusiasm and support which Herzl found among the Jews of Eastern Europe more than made up for the opposition of the "emancipated".

In the meantime, in order to have a weapon of defence against his numerous opponents and a means of advancing the Jewish cause, Herzl had with his own funds founded the weekly newspaper, *Die Welt*.

The first representative Jewish assembly since the dispersion, the first Zionist Congress brought together 197 delegates from almost every land of the earth. The movement for the redemption of the Jews through the national organization and self-activity of the Jewish people was inaugurated, and its program defined to be the creation of "a publicly recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine." Over the entire event hovered the magnetic personality and creative spirit of Theodor Herzl.

Through the first Congress Herzl came to know the Russian Jews. He found among them his staunchest friends and his staunchest opponents. From the beginning there was opposition on the part of some of the *Hoveve Zion* to Herzl's political program.

Statesman and Diplomat

As leader of an organized movement, Herzl now took up with feverish energy the numerous tasks which crowded in upon him, chief of which, at this moment, was the creation of the financial instrument of the movement, the Jewish Colonial Bank. (See Ch. XI.) Here again it was the masses of the Jewish people who subscribed the greater portion of the Bank's capital.

The second Congress, held in 1898, was another triumph for the ideas and personality of Herzl. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted was indescribable. The principles he advocated for the control of Palestinian colonization were practically adopted. Herzl always discouraged haphazard colonization, and insisted on protection by political guarantees. That is what was meant by political Zionism. He opposed infiltration, seeking instead an organized mass migration, an entrance, as he put it, through the front door, not the back door. A commission was elected to institute the Colonial Bank. During the year the movement had grown enormously.

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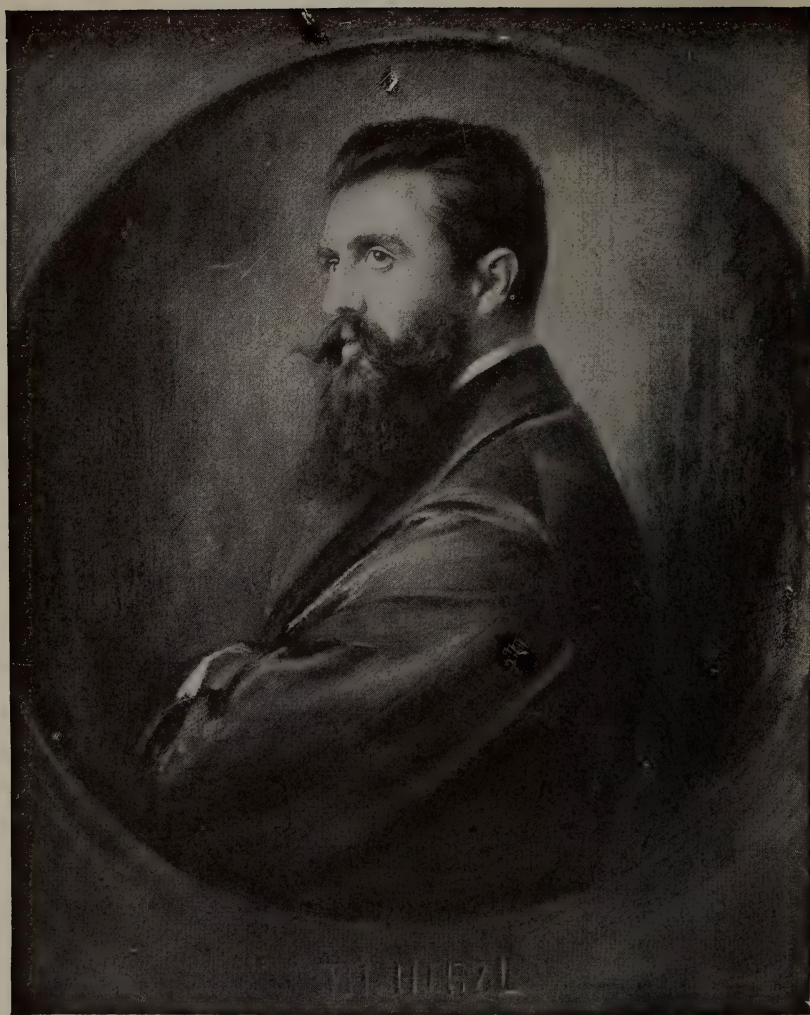
To secure the consent of the governments, Herzl sought to win the good-will of the European monarchs. He was received in audience by some of the most powerful rulers or their chief ministers. Upon all of them his wonderful personality made a profound impression. He appeared before them not as a suppliant for favors, but as the emissary of a people, the guardian of their political interests and their dignity, in presence and bearing a king among kings.

In the fall of 1898, Herzl, at the head of a Jewish deputation, was received by the German Emperor, William II, in the city of Jerusalem. In May, 1901, he had his first audience with the Sultan of Turkey. In the summer of 1903, upon the invitation of the Russian minister, Von Plehve, he visited the Russian capital and had interviews with the principal Russian ministers. Later, he was also received by the King of Italy, Victor Emanuel II, and by the Pope. For the first time the problem of the Jewish people, through Herzl, was being treated as a political question.

In the meantime, as the movement continued to grow, its needs and problems multiplied. The Colonial Bank, after numerous difficulties had been overcome, was at length founded. At the third Congress, Herzl reported: "It was a good year; we have moved a step forward." But the strain and struggle were intense and the heart of the great champion was beginning to be affected.

It seemed doubtful if Herzl would find the strength to attend the fourth Zionist Congress in London. But the mighty will compelled the weak heart. He left his sick bed and in the midst of a group of the foremost men in Jewry, Nordau, Mandelstamm, Gaster, Zangwill, his majestic personality stood forth and thrilled the vast throng that gathered in the great assembly hall, as well as the delegates at the sessions of the Congress. The English press and English statesmen hailed the movement and promised their support.

If only the rich and powerful among the Jews had come to support him! Then his audiences with the Turkish ruler, upon whom he produced so deep and favorable an impression, would have resulted in the obtaining of that charter for the Jewish occupation of Palestine which Herzl sought. But the rich and complacent Jews held aloof, and Herzl, although he suffered keen disappointment, resolved to put his trust in the poor. At the fifth Congress, held at Basle (1901), the Jewish National Fund was created, the fund through which the vast masses of the people, by uniting their strength, might gather the means which the short-sighted and timid rich withheld. (See Ch. XI.)



THEODOR HERZL

In the midst of these labors, Herzl found time to write his novel of Zionist vision, *Altneuland*.

On July 16, 1902, Herzl testified as an expert on Jewish affairs before the Alien Commission which was investigating immigration into England. His personality and his testimony produced a profound effect, and from that moment the British Government began to interest itself in his plans with far-reaching consequences.

Trip to Russia

Early in August, by invitation of the Russian minister, Von Plehve, he journeyed to Petrograd in order to try to convince the Russian Government that Zionism did not conflict with Russian interests. He succeeded in obtaining from the Russian ministers important promises in the interests of Zionism. The most formidable obstacles seemed to melt away from his triumphal path. At that time the Government approved of Zionism because it supposed it would remove the Jews. Later the Zionist movement, showing its democratic and regenerative character, was bitterly opposed and persecuted by the Imperial Russian Government. During Herzl's stay in Russia he was the witness of the misery and oppression of the Jewish population.

On his return, the streets of Vilna were dense with the throngs who came out to greet him. In the crowded synagogue, when the old Rabbi in his tremulous voice gave him the blessing, the people burst into loud weeping. It was the prayer of gratitude and love addressed by a helpless people to its champion. In Vilna, too, Herzl saw the Cossacks use their whips upon the crowds who gathered at the station to hail him. His great heart was wrung with pity. But the speedy redemption of his people seemed to be in sight.

In order, however, to obtain from the Sultan the charter for the colonization of Palestine, very large sums were required, sums much larger than could be obtained soon enough from the impoverished masses of the Jewish people. The Kishineff massacre had occurred, and, while it horrified the civilized world, the threat and danger of further massacres, like a dreadful shadow, hovered over the life of the Jews of Russia. Immediate relief was imperative.

Uganda: A Shelter for the Night

And now, as if in answer to this need, came the British Government and offered territory in one of its East African colonies, known as Uganda, for colonization by the Jews. Even before this, El-Arish, south of Palestine, had been offered by Great Britain, but for important reasons could not be accepted. Herzl laid the Uganda offer

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before the sixth Zionist Congress held in Basle on August 23, 1903. But even in his opening speech Herzl declared the ultimate aim of the Jewish people to be no land other than Palestine. And his closing speech he ended with the words: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning." Uganda he looked upon merely as a "shelter for the night," and as a political weapon in the struggle for Zion. (See Ch. X.)

Nevertheless, there were many men who declared that by his willingness to accept Uganda, Herzl had surrendered Palestine. No amount of assurance could convince them or pacify them. They attacked Herzl. Feeling ran high. A number of the foremost Russian Jews met in the famous Conference at Charkow and chose a deputation to lay certain ultimatums before Herzl. The Charkow deputation came, but, having come as accusers, they went away as the accused. With infinite patience, Herzl answered his opponents and reiterated his assurance. At the sessions of the Greater Actions Committee of April 11-15, 1904, peace was finally re-established and a vote of confidence was given to the leader.

The Last Struggle

Throughout this conflict Herzl suffered acutely. The heart attacks increased, but in spite of the entreaties of his friends he refused to spare himself. In the little mountain town of Edlach, whither he had gone for rest and cure, Herzl, early in July, 1904, was at last forced to bed. He knew that the end was near. "Greet Palestine for me," are his words to a friend, "I have given my lifeblood to my people!" In spite of great suffering he remained uncomplaining, cheerful, and self-possessed. Finally, on the afternoon of July 3rd, 1904, after having kept Death at bay by sheer power of will until he could again see his mother and children, Herzl, aged only forty-four years, breathed his last. The Jewish people lost the strongest, the most glorious personality it has produced in modern times.

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CHAPTER X

THE INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

The Zionist Congress

Since the calling of the first Zionist Congress by Herzl in 1897, the Congress has been the supreme authority and organ of the Zionist Organization. The Zionist Congress is the Jewish Congress. For 2,000 years there had been no political expression of Jewish nationality. Representatives came to the Congresses from every country, to speak not for a party in Jewry, but for the Jewish people. After the hedging of many West European Jews, who attempted to hide everything Jewish lest it be the cause of prejudice, this public demonstration of Jewishness came as a shock, and frightened those Jews who believed that emancipation must be bought with assimilation. Hence the bitter opposition to the first Congress on the part of certain Rabbis and their communities in Austria and Germany, which made it impossible to hold the Congress in Munich as originally planned. Perhaps the democratic nature of Jewish aspirations appealed to the Swiss democracy, which welcomed the first Congress at Basle, and recognized the Jewish flag.

It is Democratic

Democratic representation is the keynote of the Congress. Its delegates are elected upon the basis of one for every 400 *shekel* payers. All Zionists—that means all *shekel* payers—without distinction of sex, above the age of 18, are eligible to vote in the elections, and those above the age of 24 are eligible for election as delegates.

It is Representative

In order that the Congress may be representative, Zionists in all countries must be properly organized, at least for purposes of election. The Congress is the highest expression of the ideal of Zionism in the Diaspora, an organized Jewish people. Since the Congress is the only representative organ of world Jewry, it must be accounted as such even if a majority of Jewish individuals should not take advantage of this opportunity to be represented. It is the only democratic body in Jewry open to every Jew on a common national basis, without regard to party, religious affiliation, or citizenship.

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The Zionist Organization has been officially recognized by the nations of the world as the political representative of the Jewish people.

Earlier Modern Attempts at International Jewish Action

Former attempts at international Jewish representation were always due to abnormal Jewish conditions, to a desire to repair damage, and always degenerated into local charitable undertakings. In 1860 there was founded in Paris the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, organized for defence and relief as a result of the Damascus affair, when the horrors attending a blood accusation convulsed the whole Jewish world. But European national jealousies made the *Alliance Universelle* anything but universal. *Der Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* was an offshoot of it. Both of these societies were organized for relief, and under abnormal conditions. Later these two European philanthropic societies were drawn into educational work in the Orient and especially in Palestine. But their political interests could be only European, not Jewish, and so they proved a danger to the new *Yishub*. The pupils of the *Alliance* schools had only one ambition, to settle in Paris, and the *Hilfsverein* turned into a long arm of the German Government to Germanize the Palestinian Jews. Zionism alone has organized Jewry on a constructive, normal, Jewish basis.

Organization of the Zionist Congress

At the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, August 29-31, 1897, the Zionist Organization was created in the following form:

The Central Committee, to which each national Federation elects a number of members proportionate to its own membership, has the authority to adopt important decisions in the interval between one Congress and the next. It meets once between Congresses with the Inner Actions Committee.

The Actions Committee is the executive committee of the Congress, and consists of 25 members elected by the Congress, and of the members of the Inner Actions Committee. It carries the mandates of the Congress and conducts the business of the Organization.

The Inner Actions Committee is the administrative committee of the Actions Committee. It is elected by the Congress itself. Its number has varied from five to seven members. All its members must reside in the same city, that they may meet frequently.

Federations are organized in all countries which hold conventions and have democratic organization. Local organization, dues, etc., are determined by local needs.

THE INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

The Shekel

The *shekel*—or poll-tax of \$0.25 per annum—must be paid by every organized Zionist in the world, through his local Federation or party. It is used by the Actions Committee for organization purposes. It is based on the Biblical poll-tax which was in post-Biblical times collected from all Jews everywhere for the support of the Temple.

The Zionist Flag

The Zionist flag is a white ground with a light blue stripe near each border, running horizontally, and a light blue *Magen David*, or double triangle (six-pointed star), in the center between the two stripes. After the first Zionist Congress this flag was suggested by one of the members, it being based upon the *Talit* worn by all pious Jews, which is white with a blue stripe near the border. The star is, of course, the traditional "Star of David" used in all synagogues. Hence the flag embodies ancient Jewish custom and law.

The First Congress—Basle Program

At the first Congress there was adopted the Basle Program, which has since remained the official expression of Zionist aims, and which was made the basis of the British and other Allied declarations in support of Zionism:

THE BASLE PROGRAM

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly recognized and legally secured home in Palestine.

To realize this aim, the Congress proposed the following measures:

1. To promote through effective means the settlement of Palestine by Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen.
2. To organize and unify the whole Jewish people by means of local and general institutions suitable for the purpose and conforming with the laws of the respective countries.
3. To strengthen and augment Jewish self-consciousness in the individual and in the community.
4. To take the proper preliminary steps towards securing the concurrence of the Powers, insofar as their assent may be necessary for the attainment of the Zionist goal.

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At the first Congress an overwhelming enthusiasm was combined with effective organization. Already then the idea of the National Fund was suggested by its founder, Dr. Hermann Schapira.

The Second Congress

At the second Congress, held in Basle, August, 1898, the religionists asserted themselves, and with the co-operation of Dr. Max Nordau—rationalist—and of Theodor Herzl, who pleaded for a return to Judaism before the return to Palestine, there was passed a resolution that Zionism shall do nothing opposed to Judaism. In later years (1903) this tendency was crystallized in the *Mizrahi* or Orthodox party.

The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Congresses

The third Congress was held in Basle, August, 1899, the fourth in London, August, 1900. England had always been friendly to Zionism, and in the previous year the Zionist Bank, the Jewish Colonial Trust, had been established in London. The Jewish National Fund, founded in 1901, was also under English registry. (See Ch. XI.) At the fifth Congress in Basle, December, 1901, the Democratic *Fraktion*, which was the first attempt on the part of political radicals to form a party within Zionism, definitely asserted itself. The Congress has always had all the factionalism and strife that one usually finds in democratic national assemblies. Even Herzl, though followed with devotion, was still not spared. All languages as well as all lands are represented, and the Hebrew language has played a large and increasing part in the proceedings. Every phase of Judaism is also represented, for within the Zionist movement there is as much variety of faith and observance as without. It was inevitable that the *Mizrahi* (Orthodox) and the *Poale Zion* (Socialist) parties should have developed. (See Ch. XV.)

The Sixth Congress—Uganda

The sixth Congress, Basle, August, 1903, the last which Herzl attended, was faced with unusual problems and difficulties. During the previous year the British Government had offered El-Arish in Egypt, on the Sinai peninsula south of Palestine, to the Zionists to be colonized by Jews. This was near enough to Palestine to fit into the Zionist policy of colonizing neighboring lands. Herzl, as diplomat more than as scientist, insisted on immediate investigation, despite certain scientific obstacles. The consequence was that the too hastily arranged expedition lacked the proper men and equipment, and failed to

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get results. Meanwhile the Egyptian Government objected, and England was forced to withdraw the offer on the ground that the necessary water from the Nile could not be spared for irrigation.

England then offered Uganda, in East Africa, to Herzl. This could in no way be called a neighboring land. However, out of respect for the British Government, and in fairness to himself and to the delegates, Herzl presented this offer to the sixth Congress. It precipitated a storm that finally split the Zionist Organization. Some of the Politicals (see Ch. XV), the Socialists, but chiefly the opportunists, repudiating all sentiment, were for acceptance. The *Hoveve Zion* and practically all the Russian Jews were bitterly against it. They called it treason to the Zionist ideal. Max Nordau made an impressive speech in which he called Uganda a *Nachtasyl*—a shelter for the night—and explained that it would in no way interfere with acquiring Palestine whenever that were possible. Herzl, himself, felt the need of a temporary refuge for the driven Russian Jews. But these suffering Russian Jewish idealists, the *Zione Zion*, were the very ones who would have only Palestine, at any cost. Without pre-arrangement, and many of them in tears, they left the Congress in a body. Herzl followed them, and spent the whole night arguing and pleading with them, until he convinced them that he also was a lover of Palestine, and that he had in no way deserted the Basle Program.

The Seventh Congress—The I. T. O.

It was voted at this Congress to send a commission to explore Uganda. Before the next Congress the commission had returned to report that land unfit for colonization. Meanwhile, Herzl had died. The inherent strength of the Zionist movement and its deep-rooting in the Jewish folk-soul are proved by the fact that it withstood not only the calamity of Herzl's death at so crucial a moment, but also the break in Zionist ranks that followed the next Congress, and that took with it some of the most prominent workers. The failure of the Uganda project, and the bitter controversies that preceded and followed it, caused the secession from Zionism of Israel Zangwill and those others who believed in abandoning the idea of Palestine for some other land. Many of the radical Zionists, disclaiming all sentiment, went with them. They organized as the I. T. O., the Jewish Territorial Organization, and their varied but fruitless activities since then form an interesting page in Jewish history, but one that cannot be studied here for lack of space. Recently they have returned into the Zionist fold. Their world-wide search for a territory has proved

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that for quite other than sentimental reasons, Palestine is the only territory available for the Jewish Commonwealth. And when with the end of Turkish misrule one of the chief obstacles was removed, and when British sympathy proved an added safeguard, the Territorialists were constrained to renew their Zionist allegiance.

Eighth and Ninth Congresses

The eighth Congress was held in the Hague, August, 1907. At the ninth Congress, Hamburg, December, 1909, the *Poale Zion* were recognized and some of their theories adopted.

The Tenth Congress—Politicals and Practicals

During the next five years the chief issue in Zionism was one which by the light of later events proved a futile struggle, that between the Political Zionists—the Herzlians—who believed that the settlement of Palestine must be preceded by national rights secured in the name of the Jewish people, and the Practical Zionists—heirs of the *Hoveve Zion* movement—who put their trust in colonization, believing that guarantees would follow settlement. Each faction expressed a distinct need and obligation of the Zionists, the Practicals stressing the necessity to strengthen and support the actual center in Palestine, and the Politicals the need for firmer organization in the Diaspora, and for recognition from the world. David Wolffsohn succeeded Herzl as chairman of the Inner Actions Committee. But at the tenth Congress, Basle, August, 1911, he forfeited his place as its chairman because of his staunch support of Political Zionism, which indeed, he defended, as a member of the Committee, until his death in 1914. Professor Otto Warburg succeeded him. At this Congress for the first time the *Mizrachi* protested against the support of any but strictly Orthodox schools in Palestine.

The Eleventh Congress

The Practicals were now in power, and continued to be so at the eleventh Congress, Vienna, September, 1913, where there was a sharp controversy as to the control of the financial institutions. David Wolffsohn, by an extraordinary effort, kept it in the hands of the Politicals. Less than a year later the European War broke out; since then no Congress has been held. The division along practical and political lines has been swept away by the torrent of practical and political events. It is now seen that all Zionists must combine in everything if we are worthily to meet the coming restoration.

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Since the outbreak of the war the Inner Actions Committee has been scattered. As the Allies made Zionism part of their program, the center of Zionist activity shifted from Germany to England and America. The East European countries were too exhausted to lift the yoke. Yet, Zionism has spread in all countries. The number of *shekel* payers before the war (200,000) must have been much augmented, as evidenced in America alone. (See Ch. XIV.) For Europe, figures are not now available. With the Peace Conference, all Zionist expectation centered in Paris, and it is hoped that the International Zionist Organization may soon make its headquarters in Palestine.

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CHAPTER XI

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND AND THE JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST *

Land Laws in Palestine

The land laws and the credit system of Palestine, during the Turkish regime, followed the course, usual in semi-civilized countries. Private ownership in land had not been developed in the form known and recognized in English and American law. Under Turkish law no plot of ground could be left vacant for more than three years; after that time it might be taken up for settlement by any "squatter". Indeed, it was not safe to permit any piece of land to lie uncultivated for more than a year, under the penalty of having it appropriated by any wandering *Bedouin* tribe, and the legal process of ejectment had not been developed to an extent sufficient to protect the holder of the title. We might say that under Turkish rule possession and cultivation of the land were prerequisites to ownership, and anyone who acquired the title through purchase could maintain it only by occupying and working the land. This did not preclude absentee landlordism, which is very common and very oppressive among the Arabs.

Organization of the Jewish National Fund

The Jewish National Fund was organized in December, 1901, for the purpose of acquiring land in Palestine as the inalienable estate of the Jewish people. It had first been suggested by Dr. Hermann Schapira, as early as the second Congress in 1898. It derives its funds as free-will offerings from Jews. Although it thus partakes of the nature of philanthropy, it is not a charitable institution, for it does not pretend to alleviate present-day suffering nor to relieve present-day poverty. On the contrary, it aims to develop a Jewish national estate which will help to eliminate poverty in the future Jewish commonwealth. The Jewish National Fund, organized under the laws of Great Britain as an association or corporation, has no shares of stock. Its charter sets forth that the Jewish National Fund shall purchase lands and other immovable property in Palestine and adjacent territory, "for

* By Bernard A. Rosenblatt.

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the purpose of settling Jews on such lands", and it further provides that nothing "shall enable the association to divest itself of the paramount ownership of any of the soil of the prescribed region which it may from time to time acquire." At the time of its establishment, it was intended that the National Fund should not begin to purchase land until its capital should amount to 5,000,000 francs. But already at the sixth Zionist Congress, Basle, 1903, there was urged the necessity of the immediate purchase of land. Therefore it was resolved and laid down by the statute that one-fourth of the capital of the National Fund must remain an inviolable reserve. The reserve was looked upon as a possible instrument for political action. The association is controlled by members who are at the same time the owners of record of the Founders' shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust, so that the two main financial institutions of the Zionist Organization are not only interrelated but are controlled from the same source. In order to insure its Zionist character beyond question, the directors of the Jewish National Fund are themselves limited in all important activities by the resolutions of a "controlling committee", which consists of the members of the Inner Actions Committee, as elected by the Zionist Congress. Thus the ultimate control of the Jewish National Fund is vested in the Zionist Organization, the National Fund being virtually the Land Division or Department of Interior of the Zionist Government.

Means of Collection of the Jewish National Fund

The Jewish National Fund has offices in practically every civilized country, i. e., wherever Jews reside. Collections are made through Jewish National Fund boxes, which are placed in the homes of Zionists; through Jewish National Fund stamps, used on letters, invitations, cards for New Year's greetings, etc.; by means of a Golden Book, where for \$100 may be inscribed the names of those we "delight to honor", and in numerous other ways. In various countries, the Jewish National Fund has instituted a "Flower Day" at *Shabuot* time, and a "Flag Day" in the *Hanukkah* season. The most desirable means of collection would seem to be a stated yearly self-taxation of individuals.

The following quotation from a statement issued by the Jewish National Fund in 1911 shows some of the other methods of collection that have become popular during the last few years:

"The Olive Tree (or Fruit Tree) Fund enjoys considerable popularity. The olive trees contribute towards the afforestation of Palestine; they already provide many Jewish families with employment,

and they are destined later, out of the sale of their fruits, to supply the means of maintaining Jewish educational institutions. A donation of six shillings (1½ dollars) enables anybody to have a tree planted and registered in the name of any person desired by the donor.

"The Land Donations Fund is intended to give every Jew the opportunity of purchasing a *dunam* (a quarter acre) of land in Palestine in his own name and presenting it to the National Fund. The price of a dunam is two pounds (10 dollars). Every donor will have his name entered into a special land register and receive an artistic certificate. The land acquired by means of these donations will be devoted exclusively to settlement by Jewish agricultural laborers."

Achievements of the Jewish National Fund

In the same statement we find a *resumé* of the achievements of the Jewish National Fund before the war:

"The Promotion of Agricultural Colonization"

"The Jewish National Fund owns a large estate of about 6,000 dunam of fruitful land in the region where the Jordan flows into the Sea of Tiberias. Upon this estate the Palestine Land Development Company, founded and conducted under Zionist auspices, has erected a model farm, Kineret, where a number of Jewish laborers find remunerative employment and receive a thorough training as farmers.

"On the land bordering on the railway-line from Jerusalem to Jaffa the J. N. F. possesses two plots, Huldah and Ben-Schamen, upon which olive groves are planted.

"In the Jewish colony, Hederah, the J. N. F. possesses a garden, Gan-Schmuel (Garden of Samuel), in which oranges and citrons are grown.

"Upon another estate of the J. N. F. a large workmen's colony, in the form of a co-operative settlement, in accordance with the proposals of the well known economist, Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, has been established with the aid of a special fund. . .

"The Promotion of Rural and Urban Settlements"

"To raise the prestige of the Jews in Palestine and to improve the hygienic conditions of their dwellings, the J. N. F. has granted Jewish building societies loans amounting to a total of 300,000 francs. By means of these loans the beautiful Jewish quarter Tel Aviv in Jaffa, and the district of Herzlia in Haifa, have been brought into existence.

"Through the agency of the Jewish Bank in Palestine, the Anglo-Palestine Company, the J. N. F. has granted to agricultural co-operative societies in the Jewish colonies long term credits, amounting to a total of 220,000 francs.

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"It has also granted long-term credits to the workmen's colony, Ain Ganim (near Petah Tikvah), and to the farm-laborers' society of Umdjuni.

"The J. N. F. has built workmen's dwellings at a cost of 35,000 francs to facilitate the settlement of Jewish laborers in the Palestinian colonies."

By providing workmen's dwellings, the J. N. F. has greatly facilitated the migration of the hard pressed Yemenite Jews from Arabia, whose labors have proved invaluable.

Since its organization, the Jewish National Fund has collected over \$2,000,000.

Ideals of the Jewish National Fund

The Jewish National Fund stands for the ideal of national ownership of the land of Palestine. However meagre the results to-day as compared with the great program before us, the Jewish National Fund has shown the path. It has now adopted the principle of "Hereditary Lease", whereby it leases its land to individuals under contracts which permit the land to pass to children and other heirs, but under the terms of which the occupant must pay increased rent as the land becomes more valuable through the increase in population and social development. In the contract for the hereditary lease, provision is made for periodical assessments of the value of such lands. This secures continuity of possession for the settler, whereas he shares the advantages with the whole people whenever the land increases in value. Perhaps the most important work of the Jewish National Fund in the future will be to obtain possession and control over strategic plots of land in Palestine, regions that are essential for the future progress and prosperity of the Jewish State, such as ports, plots of ground near railroad terminals, water power sites, and choice agricultural tracts. It is improbable that the Jewish National Fund will be able to secure possession of all the lands in Palestine, but if it should secure the valuable plots that are indispensable to national safety and prosperity, it would form the basis for a commonwealth of social justice in the land of our forefathers.

Credit in Palestine

Credit in Palestine under Turkish rule differed as much from the system of credit, as we know it, as its land tenure differed from English and American practice. The ordinary basis of credit is the solvency of the debtor and the creditor's ability to utilize available police

forces as his collectors. Thus there were numerous instances in Turkish Palestine of the creditor, with the help of the military forces, carrying off the cattle of the debtor who could not pay; the creditor meanwhile taking good care that interest, compounded, be charged on the debt.

The Organization of the Jewish Colonial Trust

It was the necessity to cope with this situation as well as with the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine, as Herzl foresaw it, that prompted the organization of the Jewish Colonial Trust in March, 1899, as an English joint stock company. The Jewish Colonial Trust Ltd. was incorporated in London, England. It was ready to begin business by the end of 1901. It was organized as the financial bulwark of the Zionist Organization, and Herzl intended that it should be the chief instrument in the peaceful conquest of Palestine. In order to insure democratic ownership, shares were issued of only one pound (approximately \$5.00) each. Very soon it succeeded in enlisting thousands of stockholders scattered far and wide, from the remote villages of Siberia to the frontier towns of the western states of America. It has been estimated that the Jewish Colonial Trust has over 100,000 individual stockholders, and no corporation in the United States, with the single exception of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., has as many individual holders of its shares of stock as the Jewish Colonial Trust. In Russia there are many small towns where no single individual can afford to purchase a share, so that groups of Jews organize themselves into societies for the purpose of buying one or more shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust.

The Anglo-Palestine Company

At the present time the Jewish Colonial Trust has a paid-in capital of nearly \$1,500,000. This falls short of the \$10,000,000 which Dr. Herzl expected to raise in a few years, and yet it has proven of extraordinary value to the Zionist movement. Through its subsidiary bank, the Anglo-Palestine Co. in Jaffa, Palestine, with branches in Jerusalem, Haifa, Hebron, Gaza, Beirut, Safed and Tiberias, the Trust has been able to raise the level of the whole industrial life of Palestine. Through the introduction of the modern conception of credit, whereby the debtor's responsibility does not rest upon the possible coercive power of the state, but almost exclusively upon his character and his financial strength, Palestine has been prepared for important industrial development. The Anglo-Palestine Company has been largely instrumental

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in the fostering of credit unions and co-operative societies, whereby the obligation of the individual is guaranteed by the endorsement of a group of his friends and neighbors. This is one of the most significant by-products of the activities of the Anglo-Palestine Company, for it has given impetus to forms of co-operation which should prove invaluable in the future. On the one hand, the Anglo Palestine Company promotes the organization of owners of plantations into co-operative groups whereby the individual member, by receiving the endorsement of the other members of his group, may receive larger credit facilities from the bank. On the other hand, the endorsers, who are also his neighbors, will naturally see to it that the money so loaned to him is properly used. The bank also encourages the growth of workmen's unions and circles, so that even the poorest laborer, through the aid of the guarantee of his friends, may receive financial help from the bank. It is obvious that such a system encourages the growth of a spirit of co-operation and brotherhood which passes far beyond the ordinary field of banking.

The War and the Bank

During the war the bank in Palestine has had to weather the storm caused by the financial breakdown of Turkey. There was practically a continuous moratorium and Turkish money fell to an extremely low level. However, so strong was the credit of the bank that it was able to issue its own checks, which to all intents and purposes passed as currency during the war. In this way the Jewish Colonial Trust and its subordinate company, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, enabled the Jewish farmers to tide over the dangerous period after 1914, when to the horrors of war were added the ravages of the locust. It is certain that in the future industrial development of Palestine, the Jewish Colonial Trust and its branches will play a significant role.

Furthermore, the manner of organization of the Jewish Colonial Trust gives it the opportunity to become ultimately the State Bank of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The capital of the company consists of two million shares of one pound (approximately \$5.00) each, of which however the first hundred are classified as "Founders' Shares" and are held by trustees who are responsible to the Zionist Organization of the world. These hundred "Founders' Shares" have as much voting power as all the other shares, so that virtually the bank is controlled (in everything but the declaration of dividends) by the trustees who act for the world Zionist Organization.

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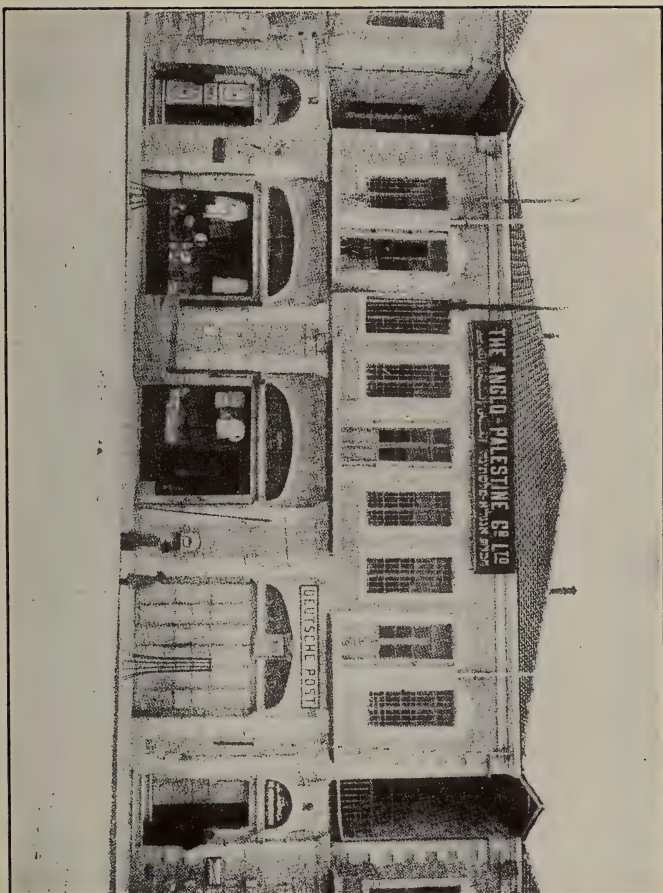
With the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, its government will be the natural successor to the Zionist Organization, since Zionism will have achieved its aim. Thus the control of the Jewish Colonial Trust would pass from its trustees to the Jewish Commonwealth, i. e., the Trust would become the State Bank, maintaining its office in London, supplemented by the branches in Palestine. It can become the great medium not only for economic intercourse between Great Britain and the Jewish Commonwealth, but also for financial and political relations between Great Britain, the "trustee," and the Government of Palestine. Thus would be realized the dream of Herzl in establishing the Jewish Colonial Trust as the State Bank of the Jewish Commonwealth.

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THE ANGLO-PALESTINE BANK

CHAPTER XII

ZIONISM IN AMERICA BEFORE THE WORLD WAR

The First American Zionists

The same cause—Russian persecution of the Jews—that stimulated the first few societies for the colonization of Palestine, sent a huge wave of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe into the United States. This migration carried with it Zionist forces. But even before that the Zionist idea had appeared spontaneously in America. It seems that Zionism grows naturally in the atmosphere of freedom; hence its early American manifestations. Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851), member of a prominent old American family of Portuguese Jews, diplomat, journalist, and publicist, was the first American Zionist. In 1824 he said: "We will return to Zion as we went forth, bringing back the faith we carried away with us." As a first step toward Jewish concentration in an agricultural settlement and under autonomous government, he purchased Grand Island near Buffalo, New York, where he hoped to create a small Jewish Commonwealth, a sort of *Nachtsyl*, with himself as first Judge. The romantic scheme, inaugurated with ceremony and pomp, was a complete failure. But even that dream had its value and its significance. Every early manifestation of an idea, however erratic, has at least prophetic value. Warder Cresson, a Christian contemporary of Noah (1798-1860), became deeply interested in Judaism and its organic expression, the Zionist ideal, and had himself sent to Jerusalem as the first American consul. There he turned Jewish, adopting the name of Michael Boaz Israel. He advocated agricultural settlement of Jews in Palestine as a first step toward renationalization. His practical attempt to start a Jewish village settlement did not succeed. It came before its time.

The first wave of Russian Jewish immigration, the tragic aftermath of pogroms, deeply stirred another Portuguese Jew, the poet Emma Lazarus of New York (1849-1887); and despite her surroundings and associations of ease and culture, far removed from all Jewish associations, she identified herself with the tragedy and the hope of her people. Her later poems are a rallying-cry for the dispersed of Israel, full of authentic vision of Israel restored to his land. She did not live

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to see the Zionist movement develop in America. But her older sister, Josephine, became a staunch supporter of the Zionist cause, in whose service she spoke and wrote.

Hoveve Zion in America

Hoveve Zion societies were organized in America, notably in New York and Baltimore, almost as early as in Russia, the stronghold of Zionism. Towards 1890, a Jewish colonization society, *Shove Zion*, was organized in the United States, with headquarters in New York and members all over the country. The money collected for land purchase for the members reached a considerable sum, and an emissary was sent to Palestine to procure land. Reaching there at the most critical period of Jewish colonization (see Ch. XXIV), he was unable to make a purchase. He came back with funds greatly reduced, which were returned, minus the fruitless expenses, to the contributors. This failure did not prevent the formation of a *Shove Zion*, No. 2, with even more disastrous results. The smaller sums collected were dissipated in the mere negotiations to buy land.

But despite these disconcerting failures, the spirit persisted. It manifested itself in Hebrew-speaking clubs and in groups of Zionists scattered all over the country.

Early Organization of American Zionism

Immediately after the first Zionist Congress, in 1897, the Zionists in America came in direct touch with Dr. Herzl, and organized the Federation of American Zionists. Dr. Gustav Gottheil and his son, Dr. Richard Gottheil, were the first to act. An article in *The Jewish Chronicle* of London, whose editor, J. L. Greenberg, had ever been at the service of Dr. Herzl, vividly described the Congress. Dr. Richard Gottheil was stirred to call a conference of New Yorkers. He became the first president of the American Federation, with Dr. Stephen S. Wise as its first secretary. An effort was made to organize societies throughout the United States. Israel Wolf, as representative of a Yiddish newspaper in New York, traveled all over the country, and this gave him the opportunity, between 1898 and 1900, to organize fifty-two Zionist societies, in Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and other Western and Southern states, as well as in Canada. But their organization was precariously weak. The *Shove Zion* failures made it difficult to raise money; the members paid yearly dues of only \$1.00, which was not enough to enable the Organization in New York to keep in close touch with its societies. Hence societies died almost as soon as born, and had to be reorganized each year.

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Gradually the Organization was strengthened. Persistent and devoted service overcame all inner and outer handicaps. When the Jewish Colonial Trust was organized, (see Ch. XI), Dr. Gottheil could find no banker to handle the shares, and for a while he had practically to go into the banking business. With two or three exceptions, the wealthy Jews of America would have nothing to do with the bank shares or with Zionism in any shape or form. But among the poor immigrants there was a mighty response. Letters came from all over the country from persons asking to invest in the bank shares, and though these cost only \$5.00, they usually had to be paid for in installments. After a time, the East Side banker, S. Jarmulowsky, took over the management of the Zionist Bank's affairs for America.

The Zionist Organs

Cleveland had a Yiddish Zionist paper, *The Jewish Star*, as early as 1894. In 1900, The Maccabean Magazine, the official organ of American Zionism, was founded, with Dr. Gottheil as its first editor. Later the editorship was taken over by Louis Lipsky, who, throughout the years when, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists he carried the chief burden of Zionist work in America, kept up an interest in the magazine and continued to write its editorials. *Dos Yiddishe Folk*, the Yiddish organ of the movement in America, was founded by Senior Abel in 1909.

Types of Membership and Societies

New York and Baltimore were the two strongholds of early American Zionism, not only in membership but in leadership. Dr. Harry Friedenwald, of Baltimore, was for many years President of the Federation; and Miss Henrietta Szold, daughter of the Baltimore Rabbi, was one of the first in America to speak and work for Zionism, and did yeoman's service in New York, where for a while she carried the secretaryship of the Organization. Herzl took a deep interest in American Zionism, and it was in 1902 that, due to his urging, Jacob deHaas was sent for from England to serve as secretary in New York. The offices were then at 320 Broadway, but later they were moved to East Broadway and then to Henry Street, to be in the heart of the Jewish section. In New York, especially, Zionism was a folk movement which made its appeal to the East Side masses.

Even before the Federation was fully organized, there had already been organized by Leon Zolotkoff in Chicago the Order Knights of

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Zion, a Zionist organization which controlled all Zionist activities throughout the Middle West, and which was proposed to have some of the features of a fraternal order.

The first Convention of the Federation of American Zionists was held in New York in 1898, and since then a Convention has been held annually. A couple of years later an arrangement was made whereby the Order Knights of Zion was affiliated with the F. A. Z., which always recognized its prerogatives in the Middle West. The Order never became in fact a fraternal association, having no insurance or benefit features, but was devoted exclusively to Zionist work. It always kept a certain independence of the F. A. Z., although it virtually agreed to become subordinate to and be included in the Federation. At one time, it paid a *per capita* tax to the Federation, and was given representation at the Federation Conventions. Of recent years their relation was much closer, and, in 1917, the Order Knights of Zion changed its name to the Federated Zionist Societies of the Middle West. The whole basis of Zionist organization in America was that of societies—in contrast to the international form of organization and that of several European Federations, whose unit is the individual—and representation at the Conventions was through societies, which were allowed a certain number of delegates according to their size. The membership of these societies was determined by social grouping rather than neighborhood. Age, language, and education, were the main factors. In some cases they were composed of persons coming from a certain section of the Russian Empire. Certain cultural and idealistic tendencies manifested themselves through special societies; there were radicals in religion or politics, conservatives, Hebraists. The *Poale Zion* (Socialists) and the *Mizrahi* (Orthodox), who are internationally organized under the Congress, organized themselves also in the United States. (See Ch. XV.) Considering themselves international parties with a specific extra-Zionist aim, both have held aloof from the organized body of American Zionists. At times there has been an attempt to co-operate, but no form of organization has been found which would make co-operation permanent and effective.

Of the societies within the F. A. Z., the following were nationally organized for special purposes:

The Order Sons of Zion

This was formed by members of the F. A. Z. in 1907. The organizers were Joshua Sprayragen and Dr. H. J. Epstein. They wished to create a fraternal insurance association that would hold to the Zionist movement members who, because of middle age or of

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newer interests, were being drawn away from Zionist activities. Self-interest, they felt, was an asset that could be used; the benefits of fraternal insurance might bind many to Zionism through a stable organization that offered practical advantage, whereas these same people would not be held by abstract ideals alone. The insurance system was based on the soundest ideas in insurance. The O. S. of Z. was always an integral part of the F. A. Z., paying its *shekolim* and a modified *per capita* tax direct to the Federation, and being represented by several delegates on the Federation Executive Committee.

Young Judaea

The educational or junior department of the Zionist Organization came into existence in 1909. Before that time there had been sporadic attempts in New York City and elsewhere to found organizations similar to Young Judaea. The Federation of American Zionists finally was successful in welding a number of juvenile Jewish clubs into one central junior organization. This was effected by Mr. David Schneckberg, who for years was the guiding spirit in Young Judaea. The medium through which Young Judaea works is the club or group of clubs of Jewish children, ranging in age from about ten to twenty years. These clubs usually meet in some communal center under the supervision of a leader or director who is in constant touch with the central organization. The actual work of the individual club, although necessarily prescribed in certain details by the organization, is left in general to the leader, and consists of the celebration of Jewish holidays by means of public gatherings and festive meetings, the study of Jewish history and of topics of general Jewish interest, discussions and debates on Zionism and on other related subjects, and the fostering of the Jewish spirit by insistence upon a positive and reverent attitude towards the Jewish religion and an intelligent interest in all Jewish affairs. Young Judaea has grown from a merely local group to a national organization of about 800 clubs with a membership of 15,000. Among its other activities are the publication of a magazine, *The Young Judaeans*, a bulletin for leaders, books of essays and poems, Hebrew songs, and other educational matter. At first, the tendency was to regard the organization as one that should be used for the accomplishment of actual Zionist work, but more and more the emphasis has been put on education, in the conviction that

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children should not be used except as a means for their own development. When, in 1918, Young Judaea came under the Education Department of the Zionist Organization as its juvenile section, it was already a powerful force for good in the Jewish communities of numerous cities, and a training ground for future Zionists.

Hadassah

The Woman's Zionist Organization, *Hadassah*, was organized in 1912 to meet the need for special propaganda among certain types of women, especially married women, who could not be reached by a mixed society. It was always an integral part of the F. A. Z. Its special appeal to women lay in its program of Palestinian work, which drew in lovers of Palestine, whether or not they were Zionists, and made Zionists of them. It established a system of district visiting nursing and midwifery in Jerusalem, as well as of trachoma treatments in the schools under the supervision of physicians of Jerusalem, and also general hygienic educational work which centered in its settlement house. (See Ch. XXVIII.) Its ideal was a system of nursing and hospitals throughout Palestine. After the outbreak of war it employed Dr. Helene Kagan, a Zionist woman physician of Jerusalem, who established a clinic, and co-operated with other health agencies in meeting a succession of disasters. A Jewish nurse was also dispatched from New York to the encampment of Palestinian Jewish refugees in Alexandria. At the request of the Inner Actions Committee and the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, *Hadassah* organized and dispatched a Zionist Medical unit of over forty members to Palestine after the British occupation. *Hadassah* was well organized and successful, gaining above 5,500 members in six years, and doing much active welfare work for Palestine and much educational Zionist work among women and young girls. After the reorganization, in which Miss Henrietta Szold, who had from the first been chairman of *Hadassah*, played an active part, *Hadassah's* welfare work merged into the Woman's Department, which still maintains the societies by that name, and its educational work became part of the Department of Education.

The Intercollegiate Zionist Association

The Intercollegiate Zionist Association—the academic branch of the Zionist Organization—was founded in 1915, and has since come

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under the direction of the Department of Education. The work in the thirty-five undergraduate and three graduate chapters consists of lectures, forums, intensive study groups, music and drama festivals, and a summer agricultural course. Among its literary activities are the publication of a yearbook *Kadimah*, a monthly *Bulletin*, and the conducting of the Brandeis prize essay contest.

Colonization Societies

Mention must here be made of Palestine colonization societies originated by American Zionists, but which, under the general principles of Zionist organization, could not be officially recognized by the F. A. Z. because they were for the benefit of individuals and for the acquisition of individual property. Such was the *Ahoozah* plan, originated in 1909 by Simon Goldman of St. Louis. This plan was for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in Palestine by persons living in a given locality in this country, who would agree to pay a certain amount every year into a fund, and in the course of a definite number of years would, with the investment of the previously paid capital, be assured of a comfortable livelihood in Palestine. The colony of Poreah was established, where Mr. Goldman spent the rest of his life. The plan has been successfully imitated by Zionists in several European countries, and Russia now has about 200 *Ahoozah* groups. In America, too, new groups were organized. And the Zion Commonwealth, organized by Bernard A. Rosenblatt, which draws its membership from all parts of the United States, and which has a definite program of social justice, with common ownership of communal values, also grew out of the *Ahoozah* movement. (See Ch. XX.)

Zionist Membership before the War

Before 1914, American Zionism was largely confined to the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe; it was an unfashionable movement, sneered at by the well-to-do middle class German Jews—a folk movement. It had headquarters in a dingy room on Henry Street. Its leaders were idealists with a devoted following, but unknown outside Jewish ranks. And when in its gradual growth it attracted the idealists among those who had matured under the influence of American Jewish assimilationism, these converts were looked upon askance by their Jewish associates and had to bear ridicule and even persecution. Zionists who needed money for Jewish national work among the masses, expressed their Zionism through general Jewish organizations in order to procure funds from the prejudiced rich and thus reach

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a larger public. At that time a few prominent Jews, among them Louis D. Brandeis, had declared themselves Zionists, but had as yet taken little active part in the movement. There were then about 20,000 *shekel* payers in the United States.

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Subjects for Papers:

A brief history of Zionism in your city (or state). A brief history of the Jews in America.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR AND ZIONIST POLITICAL ACTION

The four and one-half years of the World War caused no less complete a revolution in the affairs of Zionism than in those of the whole world. And as with other peoples, there was the tremendous contrast between acute suffering and all but despair, and, on the other hand, a fulfillment more rapid and complete than could have been dreamed of a few years earlier. Zionism, which previously had been in the view of the anti-Zionists an obscure movement chiefly of the masses, now emerged to public view as a political factor embracing every section and every class of Jewry and commanding the attention of statesmen in all lands.

The Immediate Crisis in Palestine

In no land did the war more quickly cause calamity than in Palestine, which even before it became an actual war zone, suffered as much as the actual belligerents. Although in August, 1914, when the war broke out, Turkey was still a neutral, yet within a few weeks of the declaration of war by Germany, Palestine was in acute financial distress, acute in the sense that the masses were threatened with starvation. This was due to the unhealthy state of dependence of the Palestinians upon other countries. And not only were the large actually dependent populations, those in the monasteries and institutions, as well as the Jews dependent upon the *Halukkah*, at once cut off from their source of supply, the charitably inclined in Russia and Western Europe and America, but even the self-supporting, the farmers and planters, were cut off from their one source of trade, the foreign markets. European ships stopped coming to Palestine. During the first two years of the war, owing to a number of circumstances, the cessation of all trade, the requisitions of the Turkish Government, and also the locust plague of 1915, the new *Yishub* in Palestine, the whole Jewish settlement and the work of the past forty years, was actually threatened with destruction. (See Ch. XXXIII.)

Dispersion of Members of Inner Actions Committee

The Zionists did not fail to grasp the situation, but their power

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to help was impeded by their own immediate difficulties. The Inner Actions Committee, which met regularly in Berlin and transacted all international business between Congresses, was international in its composition. Its members at the time war was declared were in various countries. Dr. Schmarya Levin had come to America to be present at the Zionist Convention in June. His presence in America during the war was valuable both for American Zionism and the international cause. In the latter's service he returned to Europe soon after the cessation of hostilities. Warburg and Hantke, two of the German members, were in Berlin and remained there practically throughout the war. Jacobson, another member, was then in Constantinople. There he stayed, serving Zionist political ends, until the drama of war revealed the new setting in which the Allies took upon themselves the vindication of Jewish nationalism. When he saw that Constantinople could no longer be the center of Zionist politics, he left and went to Copenhagen, Denmark, where in a neutral country he could be of practical usefulness to the Zionists by transmitting information and funds. He established a Zionist Bureau in Copenhagen. Tschlenow, one of the Russian members, went back and forth between Russia and Denmark, and eventually went to England. He was very helpful to the English Zionists. Immediately after the Russian Revolution of April, 1917, as leader of the Russian Zionists, he presided at their first open and untrammelled demonstration, and he made a stirring address, which foreshadowed the great events that have since come to pass. But unfortunately he died before that fulfillment. The third Russian member, Nahum Sokolow, moved about freely in the Allied countries, and later became one of the chief instruments in bringing about the political triumph of Zionism. So the members of the Inner Actions Committee were perforce scattered, and the Committee could not function.

American Zionists Assume the Burden

This disaster for world Zionism brought forth an opportunity which could not have been foreseen. Those very forces that were set in motion through a great calamity, afterward became the means of forceful, constructive action. For the moment, the center of gravity was shifted to America.

American Zionists of prominence now were moved to step forward and put the best of their strength at the service of the cause. As early as August 30, 1914, a month after the outbreak of war, an extraordinary conference of American Zionists was called in New

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York City to deal with the new situation. The Americans felt it necessary, for the time being, to take upon themselves many of the responsibilities of the Inner Actions Committee. Dr. Schmarya Levin being present as representative of the Committee, could in a way give its sanction to the action taken. A Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was elected to act in agreement with the members of the Actions Committee, and to raise an Emergency Fund for the relief of Palestine. Louis D. Brandeis was unanimously elected chairman. To many of the representative Zionists present at this meeting, this was the first indication of his paramount leadership in America. His power over the body of Zionists was more than that simply of a man who already had a nation-wide reputation as an American statesman and who would therefore naturally hold the respect of his fellow Jews. In him, they felt a leader. His personality in itself was commanding. He had come to Zionism after a life-time spent in a non-Jewish environment and in the service of the American Commonwealth. He came to Zionism because he saw in that movement the expression of the democratic spirit of his own people and he could not deny its claim. There is a certain quality in his appearance and manner which reminds one of the pictures and descriptions of Abraham Lincoln. There is the same combination of stern, almost tragic force, of geniality and pathos. His are the qualities of the liberator. The leadership of Mr. Brandeis drew to the movement many who had previously despised or ignored it. From that time forth, American Zionism grew by leaps and bounds. Very early in the war, questions of nationalism arose which threw quite a new light on Zionism. Jews who had lived self-centered and smug lives were roused to wider issues, and the disaster that overshadowed East European Jewry stirred and lashed Jewish consciousness to self-realization. The next four Conventions in Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh had more the character of Congresses, dealing with international as well as nation-wide interests. There was a constant interchange of ideas between the Zionists of Europe and those of America, so that action taken here assumed a world-wide significance. One after the other, the leaders of American Jewish life with their followers came into the Zionist movement. Whole fraternal orders with thousands of members adopted resolutions endorsing the Basle Platform. Upon the Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs fell the chief financial burden for the four years of war. And this burden was nobly borne, due partly to the commanding leadership of such men as Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, and Rabbi Stephen S.

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Wise, partly to the devoted and huge labors of the old-time faithful Zionists on the Committee, such as Jacob deHaas, Louis Lipsky, and Henrietta Szold, and partly to the aroused race consciousness of the masses of the American Jews. The Palestinian budget was met at first by the Emergency Fund, inaugurated at the meeting on August 30, 1914, and later, after the British Declaration, by the Palestine Restoration Fund. Its first installment was one million, and its second installment three million dollars. The American Zionist budget rose between 1914 and 1919 from \$14,000 to \$3,000,000. To contribute to this Fund was more than a duty or an act of generosity. It became a privilege in the sense that those who gave of their means were laying the foundation of reconstructed Jewish national life. Throughout the war there was co-operation between the general Jewish relief agencies and the Zionist Funds. The Zionists in Europe also did their share and more than their share, but naturally their means were limited by the exigencies of war. The general agencies, grouped in the Joint Distribution Committee, met on the whole, those requirements in Palestine which might be called purely relief, such as soup kitchens and doles, whereas the Zionists, so far as practical, confined themselves to constructive and preservatory measures, such as loans to farmers and employers, truck-gardening (carried on by the Jewish National Fund), the maintenance of schools (including feeding of the pupils), and of other institutions. However, in certain instances, the Joint Distribution Committee co-operated with the Zionist Organization, as in the case of the Medical Unit.

In America, events moved rapidly. Mr. Brandeis had been made a member of the United States Supreme Court during the first term of President Wilson. Justice Brandeis could not be as active in public work for the Zionist movement as Mr. Brandeis had been. But his influence and power increased a hundredfold. Although his official acts as a Zionist had to be reduced to a minimum, he held in his hands all the reins of the movement. He was in daily communication by telephone, telegraph, and conference with the other leaders of the movement, and nothing escaped his attention. This fact was well known even to the rank and file of Zionists, and there was developed a certain spirit of discipline, which created what was very nearly a Zionist army. Mr. Brandeis appealed directly to the loyalty of the organized Zionists. He spoke constantly of the need of organization and discipline, and by this means he built up a remarkable spirit of co-operation and subordination.

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The Transfer Department

America entered the war. A number of Zionists, prominent in American national affairs, were put in positions of trust by the Government. It was known months before President Wilson's official letter that the American Government was in sympathy with Zionist aims. The Provisional Committee, besides its original purpose of acting in a neutral country in the interests of the dispersed Actions Committee, had gradually assumed other and indispensable functions. Perhaps most important was that of the Transfer Department, which undertook to forward money free of charge for individuals not only to Palestine, but to Poland, Rumania, Russia, and other occupied territories. A well devised system of office management was installed in the now large and impressive offices of the Zionist Organization in New York, and the Transfer Department, by its efficiency and reliability, won the confidence of all those whom it served. This means that it won the confidence of the governments in all those countries with which it had dealings, and that it won the confidence of the individuals who forwarded money by this means. Not only Jews, but other peoples, especially the Arabs, Greeks, and other races of Palestine were helped by this service and turned to the Zionist Organization in preference to less reliable agencies. The Transfer Department created confidence in itself by its dependable financial methods, and so established what was practically a Zionist credit throughout the world. This had no small share in bringing about that attitude on the part of the governments of the Allied countries which later caused them to recognize the Zionist Organization as the official representative of the Jewish people.

The British Eastern Campaign and the Jewish Legion

International events shaped themselves toward the Zionist consummation. Great Britain inaugurated its Eastern Campaign. The eventualities of war after the entrance of Turkey proved plainly to the Jews of Palestine that their salvation, especially their national salvation, lay in the hands of the Allies. Turkey, which previously had sinned against the Jews more by omission than aggression, and whose neglect had at times been set off by a corresponding leniency, now changed to a harsh master. Goods, animals, and men were conscripted without the least regard for the necessities of the inhabitants. Zionists were systematically persecuted. Save for the appeals of German Jews, massacres such as that of the Armenians might have taken place. Soon after the entry of Turkey into the war, practically

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all Jews who were Russian or subjects of other Allied States were expelled from Palestine. Such was the irony of the fate that had driven them as refugees from Russian Ghettos to the farms and garden cities of the land of their fathers. These Jews sought refuge in Alexandria, Egypt, under British protection, whither they were carried by American warships, and where most of them lived in concentration camps, poised for the return to Palestine. It was at this time that Great Britain undertook the much criticized and disastrous Gallipoli campaign. Whatever may have been the hazards or the mistakes of this campaign, to control or subdue Turkey was a political necessity to Britain at that time, for the Suez Canal and the communications with India were threatened. A young Russian Zionist, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who had recently travelled in Palestine, happened to be in Alexandria. He was acquainted with many of the refugees, and he conceived the idea of organizing among them a volunteer force of Jewish soldiers who would fight with the British troops for the liberation of Palestine from Turkish rule. He succeeded in raising a fairly large company of Jewish volunteers. The British authorities gladly accepted the services of the Jewish soldiers, and formed them into a distinct Jewish battalion. These Jewish troops were later sent to the Dardanelles under Colonel Patterson and were known as the Zion Mule Corps. They fought under the Zionist flag as well as under the British flag. Although they were assigned to the dangerous task of carrying ammunition and supplies to the trenches, they were trained to the use of arms, and on several occasions they took part in hot and decisive fighting. After the failure of the Dardanelles campaign, this unit was disbanded. However, Jabotinsky did not rest until by travelling to Italy and to England and by reiterating his idea of a Jewish army for Palestine, he won the consent of the British authorities in London and brought about the organization of the Judaeans in England and, indirectly, of the Jewish Legion in the United States. The latter was composed of only such Jewish volunteers in America as were excluded from the operation of the draft law. They had to enlist in the British army. Yet 2,722 young men were sent from America. In Palestine itself about 1,200 young men volunteered for service with the Judaeans battalions. Many of the Jewish troops took an active and creditable part in the final fighting in Palestine under General Allenby; and again their leader was Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Patterson. These Jewish troops marched under the Zionist flag, wore the *Magen David* as their insignia, received all their orders in Hebrew, and had

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many Jewish officers. Those that trained in England made a fine record for themselves there, among other things, as boxers.

The British Declaration

When General Allenby began his successful campaign in Palestine, the political work of European Zionists bore its first fruits. Nahum Sokolow had been in England. There, too, Professor Chaim Weizmann, President of the English Zionist Federation, had won his way by personal merit and service into the favor of the British Government. England was traditionally friendly to Zionism, as Herzl himself had discovered. Zionism appealed both to British idealism and to British political sense. Weizmann is a Russian Jew, a British subject, who became professor of chemistry at the University of Manchester. During the war he perfected a certain chemical that was essential to Britain in the making of munitions. As a non-Jewish observer says: "He has a genius for a very useful department of diplomacy. He has a genius for being charming. . . . He has a pointed beard, a bald head, a tallish and slender and lithe body, an agile step, a luminous and lovable smile, a tongue instant at argument and at retort, always pounding something home and always poking fun at something. He is that paralyzing and undepictable combination—a zealot who is a wit. Mr. Arthur James Balfour liked him. And the war came. And Chaim Weizmann served Britain—and served Israel—with his chemistry."* Weizmann asked no reward for his chemical discovery. But the reward came on November 2, 1917. Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote his famous letter to Lord Walter Rothschild, embodying the following declaration:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This declaration was sent from the Foreign Office to Lord Walter Rothschild as representative of the English Zionist Organization. It came perhaps as a surprise to large sections of the Jewish people, and notably to those who had either opposed or not interested themselves in Zionism. But to those who were active in Zionist circles, the declaration was no surprise. Among the leaders it had been expected for many months. The wording of it came from the British

* William Hard in "Israel."

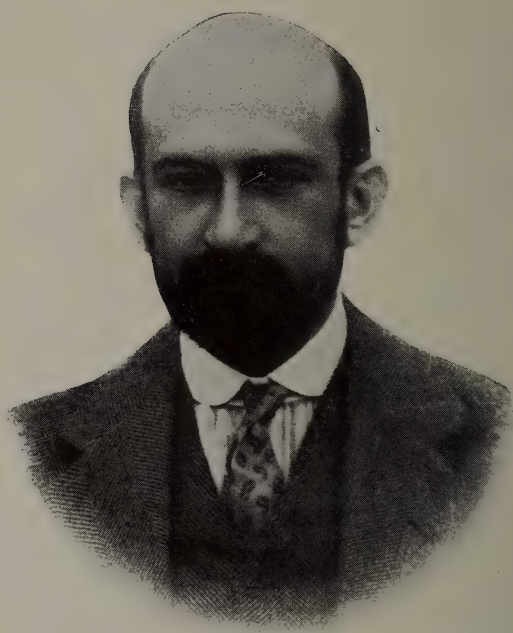
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Foreign Office, but the text had been revised in the Zionist Offices in America as well as in England. The British Declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it, and the last clauses were added in order to appease a certain section of timid anti-Zionist opinion. The declaration followed a long period of preparation on the part of the Zionist representatives of the Jewish people. They were now recognized by the nations as a political entity. Like the decree of King Cyrus, the British Declaration will go down in Jewish history as a national charter.

Very soon after the Declaration, a conference was held by the Provisional Executive Committee of America in order to endorse the British action, and to prepare the country for its tremendous tasks in raising the Restoration Fund. At this conference, held in Baltimore, December 19th, resolutions were passed endorsing the action of Chaim Weizmann in his relations with the British Government and acclaiming his leadership.

Endorsements of Other Nations

The British Declaration was soon followed by pronouncements from other governments, from international parties, and from influential and representative individuals. Nahum Sokolow travelled to France and Italy, where he elicited from the ministers of foreign affairs endorsements of the British Declaration. The Pope also gave him an audience in which he expressed his sympathy with Jewish efforts at repatriation in Palestine and his confidence that the Jews would protect all religious interests there. Greece, Serbia, Holland, and Siam, and later China and Japan, also endorsed the British Declaration. The British Labor party in its war aims included a free Palestine for the Jews. And the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy urged the re-establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. The Interallied Socialists adopted similar resolutions. (See Ch. XV.) Georg Brandes, the Danish critic, and Gustav Hervé, French Socialist and editor, also came out in favor of Zionism, and the chairman of the New York branch of the Armenian Union, H. H. Khazoyan, declared that Jewish and Armenian liberation were bound up together. The leaders of the new Arab state have also made friendly declarations. Notably, during the Peace Conference, Prince Feisal of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz, took occasion to declare anew his good will. These latter manifestations are extremely important, as the Arabs and Armenians, as well as the Syrians, will be our national neighbors in Palestine, and co-operation



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with them on a friendly basis is the first of political necessities. The Syrian opposition may be overcome only by wise and tolerant political action. Our Zionist leaders have good ground to claim that the Zionist political activity has had a much wider influence on the whole trend of international politics than appears on the surface. It seems that the Zionists were the first to bring to the attention of the chancelleries of contemporary Europe the claims and necessities of small and oppressed nations. The solution of self-determination and the recognition of the necessity for a League of Nations to protect these small peoples from future aggression, have grown in large measure out of the claims of the Zionists. So, throughout the war, the Jewish people have made their own claims, the claim for a general system of justice and democracy.

Opposition among English and American Jews

Both in England and in America the Jewish opposition to Zionism, which had intrenched itself in the upper circles of Jewish society, suffered a sad defeat. In England, a heated struggle took place. The Conjoint Committee, a committee of wealthy Jews, which assumed to represent English Jewry, had bitterly opposed Zionism, especially in those months before the British Declaration when the Zionists were intensely active and surprisingly successful. The British Declaration with its outspoken sympathy on the part of the British Government, caused a crisis which resulted in the break-up of the Conjoint Committee and a complete victory for the Zionists. The self-constituted leaders of Jewry had either to abdicate or to follow the people. In most cases they did the latter. A number of English Jews prominent in government circles joined the Zionists, among them Sir Alfred Mond and the Hon. Herbert Samuel, former British Home Secretary. In America, anti-Zionism found itself reduced to petty manoeuvring by petty persons, which made itself politically ridiculous, but managed to interfere in a measure with the collection of funds.

The Turkish and German Statements

In the Central Powers a tendency had appeared to give some sort of sanction to a Jewish Palestine, in order not to be outbid by the Allies in winning Jewish favor. The Allied declarations were there decried as having political motives and being for that reason untrustworthy. Talaat Pasha, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, had made an unsatisfactory statement in an interview in Vienna, which gave the questionable assurance that, "As far as Pales-

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tine is concerned, the Turkish Government has always maintained a favorable attitude toward the Jews who have been immigrating there for the last century. It ever looked with favor on the enterprises which tended toward improving the industrial and economic condition of the land. The Government, however, looks with disfavor upon Zionists who have political ambitions for Palestine, and it regards them as enemies to the Government."

This was seconded by Baron von dem Bussche, German under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as follows: "As regards the aspirations in Palestine of Jewry, especially Zionism, we welcome the recent statement of the Grand Vizier Talaat Pasha expressing the Turkish Government's intention in accordance with the friendly attitude they have always adopted toward the Jews, to promote flourishing settlement within the limits of the capacity of the country, local self-government corresponding to the country's laws, and the free development of their civilization."

In other words, Germany favored the continued economic development of Turkey at the hands of the Jews. She graciously apprised the Jews of this fact.

The German Zionists

In those difficult days the attitude of the German Zionists deserved special commendation. It was truly heroic. Without doing violence to their natural German loyalty, they refrained in their publications from either underestimating the British Declaration or overestimating the wholly inadequate German and Turkish statements. Seeing that the opportunity for action lay with Zionists in the Allied countries, they effaced themselves and served as they could in practical work.

The English Zionist Commission to Palestine

On December 10, 1917, less than six weeks after the British Declaration, General Allenby entered Jerusalem. Very soon thereafter, Great Britain, in confirmation of its pledge, dispatched to Palestine an English Zionist Commission, with Dr. Weizmann at its head. This Commission consisted of the Englishmen, Eder, Sieff, Jos. Cowen, and Leon Simon, and attached to it were Walter Meyer from the United States, and Aaron Aaronsohn of Palestine. Others, already in Palestine, were coopted. The Italian representatives were Bianchini and Arton. They were joined later by the American representatives, E. W. Lewin-Epstein, Robert Szold, and David de Sola Pool. Dr. Weizmann's contingent arrived in Palestine in time to celebrate the Passover in the spring of 1918. With them as British Liaison Officer, or link between

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the Zionist Commission and the British Military authorities, was Major Ormsby-Gore, a man thoroughly imbued with the Zionist idea. The tasks set the Commission are to rehabilitate the Jewish settlements and institutions in Palestine, to repatriate the refugees; to make plans and surveys for future mass migration and for physical development of the country, for harbors, roads, irrigation and sanitation; to organize Palestinian Jewry; to make connections with the neighboring peoples, and in general to prepare for future Jewish national life. One of the first acts of Dr. Weizmann as head of the Commission was to lay the cornerstone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus at Jerusalem, on July 24, 1918. This ceremony, heralded to the far corners of the world, gave notice of the spiritual significance of Jewish renationalization.

The Zionist Medical Unit

Early in the summer of 1918 there was dispatched from the United States a Zionist Medical Unit of 45 members, consisting of physicians, specialists, trained nurses, and administrators, with adequate equipment and large medical and relief supplies. This Unit arrived in Palestine in time to witness the drive of the latter half of September, when General Allenby finally swept Palestine clear of the Turks. And the havoc wrought by Turkish measures during the last months of the occupation made medical and other relief acutely necessary. (See Ch. XXXIII.) The Medical Unit established a dispensary, a training school for nurses, and a hospital of one hundred beds in Jerusalem, an eye-clinic and medical service in Jaffa, and sent groups of workers throughout the country.

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, well known as a physician in Baltimore, former president of the Federation of American Zionists, and Vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America, who had previously studied health conditions on the spot in Palestine, proceeded thither early in 1919, in order to act as a member of the Zionist Administrative Commission, to study the situation in regard to medical needs, and to investigate and prepare the ground for a medical faculty in the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

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A Jewish State in Palestine, by D. W. Amram. Lecture, Dept. of Education:
The Military Campaign in Palestine. England and Palestine, by Herbert Sidebotham.

Subjects for Papers:

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CHAPTER XIV

THE WAR AND ZIONIST POLITICAL ACTION—(CONTINUED)

The Reorganization of American Zionists

With the cessation of war, all Zionist forces were immediately put in motion to prepare for the Peace Conference, and to reap the fruit of four years of struggle. If among other peoples the problems of reconstruction may have been neglected, that cannot be said of the Zionists. Throughout the war there had been preparation for peace. In America a Palestinian Survey had been created with a large library service, that had gathered and tabulated all the information which might be of service to the peace delegates. The whole structure of American Zionism had undergone a complete change during the previous year, largely with a view to the enormous tasks that would confront it. Throughout the years of its activity, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs had gradually assumed perhaps more than its share of control of all phases of American Zionism. The Zionists of the Middle West, who had never whole-heartedly accepted the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists, put themselves wholly at the disposal of the Provisional Committee. Zionism in the West and South had grown tremendously, and a number of states had been organized with separate bureaus under the control of the Provisional Committee. Gradually the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists had become almost a subordinate body of the Provisional Executive Committee, upon which it had a number of members. The Federation of American Zionists was the first to recognize the anomaly of its position and the weakness of its form of organization, which could not long handle the vast problems that had arisen. A Federation of Societies was too immature and unpolitical a form for a movement which was coming to be the vital, progressive force in all American Jewry. It was also out of harmony both with American and Zionist political ideals which make the individual, and not the group, the unit of organization. Hence, it was decided by agreement between the Federation of American Zionists and the Provisional Executive Committee to present to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of American Zionists at Pittsburgh, in 1918, a reorganization plan whereby the Provisional Executive Committee and the Federation of American Zionists were to be merged in the Zionist Organization of America, and the whole system of organization

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changed from a federation of societies to a federation of individuals, organized in local Districts and paying their *shekel* and membership dues through the District to the Zionist Organization of America. This radical change, of which the societies had of course been apprised in advance, was fully discussed and finally passed upon by the delegates at a Convention of extreme fervor and enthusiasm. The tremendous international events that were transpiring had their solemn effect upon the assembled Zionists. In a week the whole structure of American Zionism was changed by the adoption of a constitution which provided for the division of the whole country into Zionist districts, as governmental districts are divided, so that locality became the basis of organization. Although the constitution defines and safe-guards the existence of societies for cultural, social, or other purposes, the effect of the change was as follows: From the point of view of fiscal matters and of representation at Conventions the societies ceased to exist. Societies might take on the character of political parties or social or intellectual groups, perhaps influencing the election of delegates, but, politically, the individual was the unit and the District was made responsible for the organization of these individuals, irrespective of interest, age, or education. The Zionist Organization became responsible for all American Zionists, not only for those who had chosen to join some special Zionist society. A National Executive Committee of 50 and an Administrative Committee, consisting of the officers and of the secretaries for Organization and Education, were elected.* There was also adopted a statement of principles for the social reconstruction of Palestine, worthy of the goal set before us. This statement is fully discussed elsewhere, with all of its implications for the future social commonwealth in Palestine. (See Ch. XX.) It was unanimously adopted and has proved the thoroughly democratic and progressive point of view of the Zionists of America. American Zionism was keeping pace with the vast strides of the times. It made itself ready for the stupendous events that were to follow a few months later.

President Wilson Approves of Zionism

On August 31, 1918, President Wilson wrote his memorable letter to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America:

* Honorary President, Justice Louis D. Brandeis; President, Judge Julian W. Mack; Vice-Presidents, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Harry Friedenwald; Secretary for Organization, Louis Lipsky; Secretary for Education, Miss Henrietta Szold; Executive Secretary, Jacob deHaas.

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"My Dear Rabbi Wise:

"I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish peoples in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in other countries.

"I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON"

Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in his speech delivered a few weeks later, added that President Wilson had spoken for the American people. And a number of legislatures of the states have since passed resolutions supporting the Zionist demands.

The American Jewish Congress

Immediately after the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America was called together to decide on the steps to be taken. Three subjects had to be discussed and acted upon. One was the international Jewish situation, due to the realignment of national forces in Eastern Europe and the horrible persecutions of the Jews which resulted, and also to the national Jewish demands within various countries that were being formulated by Zionist leaders in Central Europe. The second was the sending of a Commission of American Zionists to Europe to co-operate with the international Zionists in any action that might be planned, and the third was the attitude to be taken by the Zionist Organization toward the convening of the American Jewish Congress, of which it was a constituent member. The second question resolved itself into the choosing of delegates to join the European Zionists. Those sent were Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Robison, and Mrs. Joseph Fels, with Bernard Flexner as legal advisor.

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The first and third questions were closely bound up together, as action in regard to the international Jewish situation ought to be taken by the whole of Jewry and not by the Zionists alone.

As early as the conference in New York of August 30, 1914, there had been broached the subject of an American Jewish Congress for the purpose of presenting to the world the claims of Jewry. It was also intended that this American Congress should co-operate with international Jewry. The Zionists, having more specifically undertaken to act for the Palestinian interests of Jewry, felt called upon to enlist the co-operation of all sections of the Jewish people. The Congress idea grew rapidly. Initiated by the Zionists, it appealed strongly also to other bodies. However, there developed at once an intensely bitter opposition on the part of the self-constituted leaders of American Jewry. The American Jewish Committee, composed of wealthy and influential Jews who had a mandate from a comparatively limited body of Jews, had assumed control of communal Jewish affairs in America in so far as such control existed. They resented the shifting of that control to a body democratically elected, and which to their mind would therefore not be efficient and trustworthy. The struggle threatened to split American Jewry hopelessly. It seemed that the very effort for unity had created disunity. However, the forces of democracy won out. When finally, under pressure, the New York members of the American Jewish Committee themselves, in their capacity as members of the *Kehillah* of New York, (which is a constituent of the American Jewish Committee), voted for the Congress, they hoped to keep the Congress in their own hands, and evolved a system of representation which would have been wholly undemocratic. Another type of opposition developed among the Jewish labor organizations. The Zionists were resolved to organize American Jewry on democratic lines. More conferences followed, and in order to bring the idea to what seemed its only possible fruition, the Zionists entered into an agreement with the other bodies to be represented, an agreement that at the time seemed to some to endanger certain principles of Zionism. The agreement reads in part, that the American Jewish Congress shall meet "exclusively for the purpose of defining methods whereby, in co-operation with the Jews of the world, full rights may be secured for the Jews of all lands and all laws discriminating against them may be abrogated. It being understood that the phrase 'full rights' is deemed to include:

"1) Civil, religious, and political rights, and in addition thereto

"2) Wherever the various peoples of any land are or may be

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recognized as having rights as such, the conferring upon the Jewish people of the land affected, of like rights, if desired by them, as determined and ascertained by the Congress.

"(3) The securing and protection of Jewish rights in Palestine.

"No resolution shall be introduced, considered or acted upon at the Congress which shall in any way purport or tend to commit the Congress as a body, or any of its delegates or any of the communities or organizations which shall be represented therein, to the adoption, recognition or endorsement of any general theory or philosophy of Jewish life, or any theoretical principle of a racial, political, economic, or religious character, or which shall involve the perpetuation of such Congress.

"The calling and holding of the Congress shall in no manner affect the autonomy of any existing American Jewish organizations, but in so far as the Executive Committee selected by such Congress shall take action for the securing of Jewish rights as defined in the Call for such Congress, the activities of such Executive Committee shall, during the period of its existence, be regarded as having precedence over those of any other organizations which shall participate in such Congress."

This seemed to tie the hands of the Zionists in certain respects. However, it proved a triumph for them. At a meeting at the Hotel Savoy, New York, December 25, 1916, the machinery for the Congress was finally and fully set in motion. Soon after the acceptance of the agreement, elections were held throughout the country. For the first time American Jewry acted as an organized unit. The returns from these elections showed an overwhelming majority for the Zionists. This was a surprise to some who had not realized how deeply Zionism had permeated among the masses of the American Jews. The Congress itself, however, had to be postponed, owing to the entrance of America into the war. America having lost its position as a neutral country, the immediate purpose of the Congress could not be served. Too great agitation at that time would have been dangerous to Jews in some of the occupied countries.

With the cessation of war the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress immediately planned to resume its activity. The National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization, meeting just before it, felt the necessity, under the vastly changed conditions, to make recommendations to the American Jewish Congress Committee, of which it was a constituent part. In honor bound to stand by their agreement and the decisions of the Congress, the

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Zionists faced that obligation with some fears and anxieties. Later events proved these to be wholly groundless.

So precarious and so rapidly changing were international conditions that only on the evening before the convening of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress did the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization take action in regard to its own attitude toward the Congress. Its recommendation to the Congress Committee was as follows:

"The Executive Committee of the Z. O. A. is of the opinion that the American Jewish Congress should be convened at the earliest possible date. In view of the British Declaration addressed to the Zionist Organization and of its endorsement by other governments, and in view of the great political changes in Europe since the call for the Congress, fundamentally affecting the status of the Jews, the Executive Committee of the Z. O. A. believes that the Congress should take the necessary action with regard to its program that is required by the changed conditions."

The Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress was fully in accord with this resolution. The Congress was called for and convened in Philadelphia on December 15th. About four hundred delegates came from all parts of the United States. A wonderful spirit animated the meetings. American Jewry seemed to have emerged from the parochial into the political state. Despite the great diversity of the groups represented, including spokesmen of the American Jewish Committee and of the workmen's organizations, the chief resolutions were practically unanimously adopted. The resolution on Palestine was acclaimed by an enthusiastic ovation, and it was some time before the delegates could be persuaded to calm down sufficiently to take a vote. When that vote was taken—a rising vote—only two delegates remained seated. There followed also a resolution on international rights. By these resolutions the weight of American Jewry has been put on the side of a League of Nations, and of that democratic organization of the world which is absolutely necessary to Jewish well-being and to human well-being.

Resolutions Adopted by the Congress

The following are the resolutions adopted:

"Resolved, that the American Jewish Congress instruct their delegation to Europe to co-operate with other representatives of other Jewish organizations, and specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the

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aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917, endorsed by the Allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

"Resolved, that the American Jewish Congress respectfully requests the Peace Conference to insert in the treaty of peace as conditions precedent to the creation of the new or enlarged states which it is proposed to call into being that express provision be made a part of the constitutions of such states before they shall be finally recognized as states by the signatories of the treaty, as follows:

"1. All inhabitants of the territory of——, including such persons together with their families, who subsequent to Aug. 1, 1914, fled, removed, or were expelled therefrom, and who shall, within ten years from the adoption of this provision, return thereto, shall for all purposes be citizens thereof, provided, however, that such as have heretofore been subjects of other states, who desire to retain their allegiance to such states or assume allegiance to their successor states, to the exclusion of —— citizenship may do so by a formal declaration to be made within a specified period.

"2. For a period of ten years from the adoption of this provision no law shall be enacted restricting any former inhabitant of a state which included the territory of—— from taking up his residence in —— and thereby acquiring citizenship therein.

"3. All citizens of ——, without distinction as to race, nationality or creed, shall enjoy equal civil, political, religious, and national rights, and no law shall be enacted or enforced which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of, or impose upon any person any discrimination, disability, or restriction whatsoever on account of race, nationality, or religion, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.

"4. The principle of minority representation shall be provided for by law.

"5. The members of the various national as well as religious bodies of —— shall be accorded autonomous management of their

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own communal institutions whether they be religious, educational, charitable, or otherwise.

"6. No law shall be enacted restricting the use of any language, and all existing laws declaring such prohibition are repealed, nor shall any language test be established.

"7. Those who observe any other than the first day of the week as their Sabbath shall not be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on any day other than that which they observe; nor shall they be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or holy days which they shall regard as a desecration thereof."

Note that the word "Jew" is not specifically used in this resolution, as the appeal is based on common human justice.

Jewish Representatives to Europe

The chief task of the Congress was to elect a Committee to proceed to Europe to carry out the mandates of the Congress, and which would upon its return, reconvene the Congress. This Committee consisted of the following:

Judge Julian W. Mack, President of the Zionist Organization, who had been chosen Chairman of the Congress, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Louis Marshall, Jacob deHaas, Executive Secretary of the Zionist Organization, Nahum Syrkin, one of the representative *Poale Zion*, Joseph Barondess, Morris Winchevsky, Col. Harry Cutler, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, and Bernard G. Richards, as Secretary. Action was also taken upon the Polish situation, the Poles having protested that they were guiltless of the massacres in Galicia, and having asked that a delegation of six, two Jews, two Poles, and two Americans, be sent to investigate. Judge Mack and Mr. Marshall were authorized to name the two Jewish delegates.

Growth of American Zionism

American Zionism was meeting its tremendous responsibilities. From a mere handful of about 20,000 *shekel* payers before the war, they had increased to 150,000 in 1917, and in the new District Organizations over 171,000 were enrolled by April, 1920; that means 171,000 Jews who pay two dollars a year to the Zionist Organization of America. Also a spirit of understanding was gradually penetrating the masses.

Zionist Demands

The resolution in regard to Palestine adopted by the Jewish Con-

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gress, which was representative of the Jews of America, made plain to all the world what the Zionists expected of the Peace Conference. Similar resolutions have since been passed by representative Jewish bodies in other countries. The demand for British trusteeship, and in fact the phrasing of the whole resolution, had been strongly influenced by cable messages from the Zionists of Great Britain. In Paris, Chaim Weizmann (returned from Palestine), Nahum Sokolow, Dr. Wise and others were in constant touch with the Peace Delegates. Early in 1919 a Zionist Bureau was established in Paris, which became the headquarters for all Jewish activities at the Peace Conference.

From the Maccabaeon Magazine, March, 1919

"We laid our claims before the 'Council of Ten,' on the twenty-seventh day of Adar Rishon 5679, which will remain the most important day in the annals of our history since our dispersion." Such is the opening sentence of a message to the Zionist Conference in London, signed by the three Zionist diplomatic representatives, Weizmann, Sokolow and Ussischkin.

The Zionist Conference in London opened on Tuesday, February 24th, with representatives from the Allies and neutral countries and a special delegation from Palestine.

The first report of what took place at this conference reflected a certain amount of dissatisfaction in a number of the delegates with what they considered the modesty of the claims of the Zionist diplomatic representatives in Paris. Then came the appearance before the Supreme Council of the Zionist representatives, the results of which were hailed with general satisfaction.

The Zionist delegation consisted of Dr. Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, M. M. Ussischkin and André Spire. Prof. Sylvain Levi also appeared, but not as a member of the Zionist delegation. In a powerful speech which lasted only six minutes, Nahum Sokolow laid before the world's representatives the picture of the twenty centuries of wandering of the Jewish people. Weizmann followed, and in a speech of equal length, emphasized the point that the war had left the Jews in a more precarious plight than any other people. Ussischkin addressed the council as a representative of the Ukrainian Jews. He spoke in Hebrew. He thus demonstrated to the Powers of the world that Hebrew is a living language. A discordant note was introduced by Prof. Sylvain Levi, who spoke as a representative of the French Jews, and after paying a tribute to the achievements of the Zionists in Palestine, proceeded to belittle the larger claims of Zionism and cast

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reflections on the character of the East European Jews. He was the last speaker, officially, but fortunately his speech was not permitted to create the final impression. Secretary Lansing took the initiative, and by asking Weizmann a question, he gave him the opportunity to speak again and remove the painful impression which Prof. Levi's speech had created.

No opposition was advanced by any of the nations represented in the council to the claims of the Zionists. Mr. Balfour took occasion to congratulate the Zionist representatives on the results they had achieved, and M. André Tardieu, representative of the French Government, made the following statement:

"There is not the slightest difference of opinion among the great Powers on the establishment of a Zionist State nor on giving Great Britain the mandatary."

To the record of these reiterations of assurances from the Powers should be added the statement made by President Wilson to the delegation of the American Jewish Congress:

"I have before this expressed my personal approval of the Declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

There should also be added a letter from Emir Feisal, heir-apparent to the throne of Hedjaz, to Professor Felix Frankfurter, one of the Zionist representatives in Paris wherein the Prince sets at rest all doubts as to the position of the Arabian people in the following statement:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted by the Zionists to the Peace Conference, and regards them as moderate and proper. We will do our best to help them through, and wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

In an interview Dr. Weizmann gave to the press after the appearance of the Zionist delegation before the "Council of Ten," he stated:

"We have obtained full recognition of the historic title of the Jewish people in Palestine and of the Jewish right to constitute a National Home there."

The claims of the Zionist delegates as they are briefly communicated in the official communication to the London Zionist Conference contain everything that may now be demanded: full recognition of

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our historic claims in Palestine; the assurance of an independent Jewish Commonwealth as soon as the Jews in Palestine will constitute a majority of the population and will be able to dispense with their mandatory; the creation of such conditions under the trusteeship of England as will fulfill the desire of Jewish development in Palestine as soon as possible; the recognition, as one of the principal conditions, of a Jewish Council which is to have from the beginning a voice in the administration of the country and receive all necessary concessions to further the development of Jewish immigration on a large scale; the immediate recognition of the Hebrew language and the Jewish Sabbath and holidays; and, finally, the determination of the boundaries of Palestine as they were in the reign of King Solomon: from the Lebanon in the north to the boundary of Egypt and the port of Akabah in the south, and to the east the whole of Transjordan as far as the Hedjaz railroad, which includes the Bashan and Gilead.

The London Conference to whom the Zionist delegates reported the success of their mission, received this report with a remarkable demonstration. The delegates rose from their seats and pronounced the benediction, "Who hath permitted us to live and preserved us until this season." All parties expressed satisfaction and confidence in the delegates.

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CHAPTER XV

FACTIONS AND TENDENCIES IN ZIONISM*

Parliamentary government, in nearly every instance, presents a scene in which three contending groups are actors—the Right, the Left, and the Center. The latter represents, usually, the views of the majority of the population, but it must be ever ready to face a struggle with either of the wings—with the Right, who represent the ultra-conservative forces in the nation, and the Left, or the champions of radicalism. It is the constant struggle between the Right and the Left that usually offers the opportunity for the growth of the Center party, which works as the “administration.”

A famous radical philosopher once declared that the members of the Left—except in short periods of revolution—can never be the rulers of a nation, because just as soon as any theory or policy becomes sufficiently popular to receive the support of the majority, the clever politicians and administrators, who are nearly always found in the Center party controlling the government, will proceed to appropriate the ideas, and to “steal the thunder” of their opponents in order to keep themselves in power. In this view, it is the chief function of the Left to prepare the minds of men for the radical changes which the Center party ultimately enacts into legislation. In short, the strength of the Left is in denunciation and in theorizing, of the Center, in actual administration, and it might be added, of the Right, in traditionalism.

The Poale Zion

The Zionist Congress, as a parliamentary body, has developed more or less along these lines, with the so-called “general Zionists” in the Center, for though the *Mizrachi* (or Orthodox group) is religious and not political in its conservatism, and so can hardly be called the Right, the *Poale Zion* (or Labor party) might well be called the Left. As early as the seventh Zionist Congress, in 1905, the *Poale Zion* was recognized as a “Fraktion” (or party) within the International Zionist Congress. This party represents the Socialist element in Zionism. But it would be a mistake to regard *Poale Zionism* as merely Socialism within the Zionist Organization. The *Poale Zionist* is a Jew who

* By Bernard A. Rosenblatt and the Editor.

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endorses the Zionist program, who not only interprets that program in accordance with Socialist ideals, but who supplements and "corrects" that program so as to fit in with his concept of what a Jewish State ought to be. *Poale Zionism* is not something added to Zionism—it is a different kind of Zionism. Perhaps nothing illustrates this so vividly as the following quotations from a pamphlet on the *Aims of Jewish Labor*, prepared by the *Poale Zion* of America, and issued in the early part of 1918:

"There are two fundamental causes which are responsible for the peculiar condition and the unusual sufferings of the Jewish masses.

"These causes lie at the basis of modern society in general and the world position of Jewry in particular. . . .

"These fundamental causes are:

"(1) Capitalism as a system of production, and

"(2) Lack of a Jewish-national economic system. . . .

"The all-embracing aim of *Poale Zionism* is to free the Jewish worker both as proletarian and as Jew: to set up a free Jewish nation in a family of equal and class-free peoples. . . .

"The *Poale Zion* is a separate organization of the Jewish working class which carries on its activity in behalf of social freedom and national liberty quite independently, joining the Zionist movement as a distinct party and recognized as such by the constitution of the International Zionist Congress.

"If occasion or policy demands, the *Poale Zion* unite temporarily or for specific purposes with other groups at the Zionist Congress, just as Socialists do in any National Assembly or Parliament. . . ."

The *Poale Zion* is allowed representation in the Larger Actions Committee, but is not entitled, as a matter of course, to party representation in the Inner Actions Committee, which actually administers Zionist affairs during the periods between Congresses. This is proper, because, while there may be differences of opinion upon legislation and policies, the administrators or those who are to carry out policies must be chosen entirely from the point of view of personal fitness irrespective of party affiliation.

In Palestine, the *Poale Zion* may be regarded as the Socialist and labor party of the future Jewish State. It has helped to organize Jewish farm labor there, which has a strong union. The party has encouraged the growth of co-operative farming colonies and of co-operative labor groups. It has published a workman's journal, *Ha-ahdut*, and is active in the co-operative Society of *Shomerim* or Jewish police force. During the war the *Poale Zion* has striven, with great success,



GENERAL ALLENBY'S ENTRANCE INTO JERUSALEM

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to win the support of the various Socialist and Labor parties throughout the world, toward the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. In the words of the pamphlet referred to above, the *Aims of Jewish Labor*:

"The *Poale Zion* Confederation was officially invited to participate in the deliberations of the International Socialist Conference which was to have been held at Stockholm, June, 1917. Thus we were placed on a par with all the other Socialist elements of the world; thus also the Jews were recognized by the Socialist International as a separate and distinct nation with its own specific problems and its own legitimate Socialist representatives.

"The Holland-Scandinavian Socialist Committee has in its Peace Manifesto of October, 1917, made the fundamental demands of *Poale Zionism* its own in the following language:

"The International solution of the Jewish problem; personal-national autonomy in Russia, Austria, Roumania, and Poland, where the Jews live in compact masses; security and protection of Jewish colonization in Palestine.' . . .

"The Socialist Party of England and the Independent Socialists of Germany have upon several occasions pledged their support to the *Poale Zionists*. . . ."

In this way the *Poale Zion* has rendered a definite service to the Zionist movement in that it has won for us the support of radical groups the world over.

The Mizrahi

The *Mizrahi*, or Orthodox party, was formally recognized by the Zionist Actions Committee in 1903. As the *Poale Zion* would convert political Zionism into a social movement, so the *Mizrahi* would transform it into a religious movement. There is no inherent opposition between the *Poale Zion* and the *Mizrahi*, for we can conceive of a member of the *Poale Zion* who is a Socialist, being also a religious Zionist. It has even happened at the Congress that the two parties voted together against the Center. But, roughly speaking, the two parties represent respectively the radical and the conservative forces in Zionism, and one who refuses to work as a "general" Zionist must choose between the two factions. This is perhaps one of the strongest reasons for the majority of Zionists remaining members of the Center (or "general Zionist") since, as such, they may entertain the most radical outlook on the social question, and yet combine with it the most Orthodox interpretation of Judaism. As a member of either

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of the two parties, a Zionist must perforce subordinate one to the other. Also, there are many who consider the division into parties in advance of a national government as a weakening of the movement and as a danger to undivided loyalty to the nationalist cause.

A *Mizrahist* is a Zionist who accepts the whole of the Jewish religion including the laws and their authoritative interpretation (from the Talmud and the Rabbis), as the necessary counterpart of his Zionism. The Zionist movement itself is in the eyes of the *Mizrahist* merely the necessary logical step in the upbuilding of a Jewish national religious life in Palestine. The *Mizrahist* regards Jewish nationalism as part and parcel of Jewish religion. He hopes for an ultimate theocracy in Palestine.

The *Mizrahi* roots deep in the beginnings of Zionism, for some of the first pioneers in Jewish nationalism were men who belonged to Orthodox Jewry. Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer regarded the planting of Jewish colonies on the soil of *Erez Israel* as part of the religious duty of the Jew, and Rabbi Samuel Mohilever of Bialystock, Russia, the famous exponent of religious Zionism, joined Herzl at the very foundation of the Zionist movement. Zionism is an expression of the national will-to-live and, like the will-to-live of the individual, it can be reconciled with every shade of belief. For 2,000 years this will was concentrated in Jewish religious life. The Orthodox Jew would therefore seem the most open to Zionist influence. But this is not the case. Much opposition comes from the Orthodox on the ground that we must not force the hand of Providence, but must wait for a miraculous redeemer from God. The *Mizrahi* by their very existence refute this argument. Following the leadership of Hirsch Kalischer in this matter, they hold that the Messiah will come only after the Jews have done their duty by resettling Palestine. Since the Jews were given many religious commands that can be obeyed only in Palestine, the first religious duty of the Jew must be to attempt to live there, and there to replant his people.

The co-operation of the *Mizrahi* with the general movement has always been tinged with resentment at all purely economic, social, national, or even cultural interpretations of Zionism that ignore the religious aspect. So, too, they mistrust the leadership of men who are non-religious.

Rabbi Jacob Reines of Lida, who founded the *Mizrahi* in February, 1903, also brought about co-operation with the general Zionist movement and representation at the following Congress, which has continued ever since. Amidst all the disputes that have arisen between

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the *Mizrahi* and the Zionist Organization, there has been preserved, at all times, a certain spirit of co-operation. Believing that education is the groundwork of a national life, the *Mizrahi* have made Palestinian education their chief concern. They have opposed the subsidizing of secular schools, such as the Hebrew *Gymnasium* at Jaffa. They have established their own school at Jaffa, the *Tahkemoni*. It is interesting to note that this Orthodox high school educates only boys, whereas the *Gymnasium* is co-educational.

Like the *Poale Zion*, the *Mizrahi* are not entitled, as a matter of right, to representation on the Inner Actions Committee, but it has several members on the Larger Actions Committee. The chief value of the *Mizrahi* lies in its propaganda among pious Jews, who form a majority of the Jews. It links Zionism with Orthodox Judaism, and therefore is in a position to enlist the support of congregations and synagogues for work for the Jewish State in Palestine. It is valuable as the bridge between the Zionism of the parents and the Zionism of the second generation. Through its support of Hebrew and Jewish learning as a necessary part in the redemption of Palestine, it insures to the older generation a Zionism that is not a mere youthful enthusiasm without any roots in the past, but a necessary and desirable development in traditional Judaism. Broadly considered, we might say that, while the general Zionist represents the present, with its political and practical problems for Palestine, and while the *Poale Zion* might be regarded as the harbinger of the future, the *Mizrahi* is our link with the past, and aims to insure that our progress shall be in line with the whole of Jewish history.

Cultural Zionism

Besides the parties, there are other tendencies not crystallized into parties, which have had a shaping influence in the development of Zionism. The most important of these has been named "Cultural Zionism," and its chief exponent is Ahad Ha-Am. (See Ch. XVII.) The movement for cultural Hebraic development was a natural outgrowth of the *Haskalah* (see Ch. V), with its emphasis on Hebraism. It accentuates Jewish learning and social ideals, not traditional religion. Cultural Zionism emphasizes the need of preparing the Jews for Palestine—by Hebrew education, the study of Jewish history and the upbuilding of the Hebraic character—even as we must prepare Palestine for the Jews. This type of Zionism won many adherents among those who until recently regarded the practical plan for a Jewish State as chimerical, for even those who scoffed at political Zionism saw

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the value of cultural Zionism. Many have been induced to give large sums for Palestinian purposes, though they have refused to endorse the political Zionist program. But since the Declaration on Zionism by Great Britain on November 2, 1917, and its subsequent endorsement by the Allies, Zionism is no longer only a dream of the idealists. It has become a practical question of world politics. It is therefore not surprising that those who were attracted by cultural Zionism, but who had refused to endorse the Zionist movement, should now give it their full support. Many such "delayed" Zionists are now giving yeoman's service in the Organization. So, too, all opposition between Cultural and Political Zionism has disappeared, and both are recognized as necessary phases of renationalization.

Political and Practical Zionism

What was for many years the center of Zionist politics, the struggle for control of the Congress, without definite party organization, between the "Practicals," descended from the old *Hoveve Zion* and the "Politicals," or Herzlian Zionists, has also ended through the eventualities of war in a strong union of purpose. (See Ch. X.) Since the Balfour Declaration, Political and Practical have the same meaning; colonization and guarantees must now go hand in hand.

The Yiddishists

Another tendency in Zionism, which is of utmost importance for the future of Palestine, is the "Yiddishist" movement. It is not thoroughly organized, and represents only a tendency. It gathers its strength largely through a certain inertia. About half of the Jews of the world are now speaking Yiddish, and therefore we have a condition conducive to the acceptance of Yiddish as the Jewish language of Palestine in the future; for that is the "easy way". Of course, some of the Yiddishists also have their philosophy.

The Zionist Yiddishists are a cross current, as it were, from a Jewish national tendency which is not at all Zionist but opposed to Zionism. Indeed, the scattered Jewish people, comprising 14,000,000 of fairly intelligent and generally educated individuals, is seething with all manner of social and political currents. It is this which makes Jewish life so interesting and stimulating and worth while. Hitherto anti-Zionist, this Jewish national idea is held by the followers of S. M. Dubnow, in Russia, who maintain that the Jews are a nation wherever they may live and that they should claim national rights in their present abodes. To them, Yiddish is the national Jewish language because Jews speak it. Palestine, when it becomes

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Jewish, will be to them simply an annex, another Jewish abode where of course Yiddish must also be spoken. They ignore the fact that great masses of Jews, notably the Spanish Ladino-speaking Jews of the Orient, and large numbers of West European and American Jews do not know Yiddish at all.

The Zionist position is an opposite one. To Zionists, Yiddish is a "Golus" speech developed by the abnormal conditions of Jewish life. Dear as it may be to some of them, with the homely charm of a folk tongue, it has the ear-marks of slavery and of forced adaptiveness. The effort to Hebraize German has had some curious results. The two languages have an opposite character and construction. Hence the strange consequence that, whereas Hebrew is one of the most concise of languages both as spoken and written, Yiddish is one of the most long-winded. Zionists have proven, in Palestine, the correctness of their position. Hebrew is already the living language of the Palestinian Jews. It alone can unite all Jews; its dignity makes it dear to a liberated people; it has the straightforward simplicity that expresses the soul of a people coming upright into its own land. And it is at home in the Orient, which Yiddish never could be. Hebrew is first cousin to Arabic. For Zionists and Palestinians the question is decided. However, the first years of a general immigration may again raise the problem, and we must be prepared to meet it. Our Jewish pioneers in Palestine have had experience with such struggles. (See Ch. XXXI, XXXII.) And throughout the world there are Jews, especially among the Yiddish-speaking, ready to make untold sacrifices for the sake of Hebrew. In Palestine we find Yiddish-speaking parents, who barely understand Hebrew, insisting that their children speak Hebrew at home. And in the Diaspora we find articles written in Yiddish on the Hebraic movement which condemn Yiddish as a possible Palestinian tongue. It is a self-denying ordinance. The young Hebraists in Palestine do not even tolerate plays or lectures given in Yiddish. We may hope that when the question again becomes a practical one, all Israel will be imbued with the spirit of the tongue of its Prophets.

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Subjects for Papers:

Jews in socialism. Yiddish as a language.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HEBREW REVIVAL IN THE DISPERSION

The Hebrew Language throughout Jewish History

At no time in history has Hebrew been a dead language. To the masses of the Jewish people, it has for hundreds of years been the language only of prayer and study, and to the intellectuals among them—who formed a large proportion—it was also the language of literature and correspondence. Merchants and bankers kept their books in Hebrew. Hebrew as the commonly spoken language of the Jewish people in its own land was replaced, even before we lost our land, by the Aramaic dialect which is closely related to Hebrew. In this dialect certain parts of the prayer-book are written, notably the *Kaddish*, and also a large part of two of the late books of the Bible, *Daniel* and *Ezra*. But on the whole, Jewish literature was produced in Hebrew, as exemplified by the *Mishnah*, written in Aramaic-speaking times, and by other legal and philosophical writings. Throughout the Middle Ages, too, the chief works of Jewish learning were produced in Hebrew, with the exception of a few philosophic works—as those of Halevy, Ibn Gebirol, Saadia and Maimonides—originally written in Arabic during the Arabic-Jewish period of culture, but later translated into Hebrew. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the “Golden Era” of the Jews in Spain, there was a remarkable revival of Hebrew literature which produced, besides books of travel, tales and philosophy, works on Hebrew grammar, and a wonderful flowering of lyric poetry. Greatest among these poets were: Judah Halevi, the passionate Zionist who, legend tells us, was slain at the gates of Jerusalem while on the dangerous pilgrimage from his luxurious home in Spain to the then desolate Holy Land, and Shlomo Ibn Gebirol, singer of love, human as well as divine. Many of Halevy’s best poems have been rather well translated into English and appear in various collections. And the best of the *piyutim* or holy-day poems in the ritual can be traced to this period.

Relation of Language to Nationality

In modern times—seven centuries later—there has been another Hebrew revival, comparable in quality and much wider in extent. For

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at no time since the dispersion has Hebrew become as now the language of daily intercourse of thousands upon thousands of Jews. This miracle—a miracle of will and endurance and devotion—is closely associated with the new Jewish national movement. However, we should not forget that the Hebrew revival of modern times preceded in its beginnings the national movement, and is in no small measure responsible for the impetus toward Zionism and for the spread of Zionism, especially among the Russian masses.

To understand this, one must realize the relation of language to nationality. Our native language is our most intimate possession. Since it has been pretty clearly proven by science that thought is impossible except in words, so the language in which we think is the body of our intellectual life. Also, our language determines which literature shall be most familiar to us. And what is literature but the spiritual and intellectual history of a people? Language therefore determines our national sympathies. This was demonstrated in the Great War especially by Switzerland, the nation composed of three peoples with three languages. Although Switzerland remained neutral, the sympathies of its inhabitants with the various belligerents were pretty well divided along linguistic lines. So, naturally, a generation of Jews which was at home in Hebrew speech and literature would be open and prepared for the revival of national aspiration as the plowed ground is ready for the seed. A still deeper relation exists between nationality and speech. Each language has, as it were, a spirit or soul of its own. Whoever learns it comes into direct possession of certain spiritual treasures. The knowledge of German inspires to thoroughness and order, the knowledge of French to precision and beauty of form. And Hebrew has a quality which may be called truth in action. One of the great Jewish creations has been the Hebrew language itself. Any student of Hebrew soon discovers its rare quality, its directness, its swift motion and brevity, its simplicity, unity, universality. These are qualities of the Hebraic soul. Created by the Jews, Hebrew has also created the Jews. The Bible is a Hebrew book; it could have been only a Hebrew book. To fulfill its spiritual promise in national life the Jewish people must again be a Hebraic people.

Hebrew Revived for the Sake of European Culture

The modern revival of Hebrew began with that very group whose purpose was to escape from the dangers and privations of Jewish separatism or nationalism, in dispersion. Moses Mendelssohn and his followers (see Ch. V) were responsible for the first return to

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Hebrew as a literary medium. As Hebrew was the preferred language of the Jewish reading public, these writers used it for transmitting modern thought and culture to the Jewish masses. Their purpose was to prepare the masses of German Ghetto Jews for European culture and intellectual assimilation. The *Meassefim*, as their Hebrew publications were called, which served their purpose so far as Germany was concerned, and were discarded for German literature as soon as possible, found their way also into the hands of Jews in Lithuania, Poland, Galicia, and the Ukraine, and there they ended by having quite another result. Hebrew literature, revived there for practically the same reasons as in Germany, as a way of escape from the intellectual narrowness and stagnation of the Ghetto into the freedom of European culture, was bound to take other forms because of the different social conditions. These Jews, living in dense masses, were steeped in Hebraic forms of learning, life and sentiment. The *Haskalah* movement (see Ch. V) soon developed writers who loved Hebrew not merely as a vehicle for modern thought, but for its own sake.

Return to Biblical Style

Even the editors of the *Meassefim* had their notions of Hebrew style. Opposed as they were in all things to Talmudic Judaism, they avoided the Hebrew style of the contemporary Talmudists, which was not purely Biblical but was compounded also from Talmudic and other post-Biblical literature. The Hebrew of the Eastern Jews, while rich and pliant, had sacrificed manner to matter, had suffered from the neglect of Hebrew grammar and of the Bible itself, and had lost all beauty of rhythm and form. Hence the editors of the *Meassefim* adopted the slogan: "Back to the Bible!" Such a reaction could not in the long run be fruitful of a rich literature, but for the moment it was healthy at least in a negative sense. It purified Hebrew style and reawakened the love of poetry and beauty in speech. This style, used largely by the earlier writers of the Hebrew revival, has been termed *Melitzah*. Its tendency was to overburden prose with Biblical quotations and forms, sometimes without due consideration of their appropriateness.

The First Hebrew Novel

The first Hebrew novel, published at Vilna in 1853, was written by Abraham Mapu. It was *Ahavat Zion* (The Love of Zion), and related in limpid Biblical style a love story of the period of Heze-

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kiah in Palestine. Abraham Mapu was born in Slobodka, near Kovno, in 1808, and died in 1867. His early education was the traditional Jewish one. In his later 'teens, however, he delved deep into classical and then into European culture, and so, with a good foundation of Jewish learning, he was able to Hebraize the romantic form, and to keep thoroughly Jewish a type of literature until then strange to the Ghetto. It was a liberating breath. Mapu's novel found an enthusiastic response from the young people who thus escaped Ghetto medievalism by the path of a living Hebrew literature. The older generation, scenting a danger to tradition, put a ban on this innocent novel, which many a youngster read in secret with the relish for forbidden fruit.

Yehudah Leib Gordon

While Mapu was still writing, Yehudah Leib Gordon (Leon Gordon) began to stir the Jewish people, or rather the Jewish progressives and the Jewish youth, with Hebrew poems of extraordinary merit. He voiced in the Hebrew language that rebellion against a sordid and cramping life, that reaction to extreme free thought which but for him and others like him would have driven the younger Jews to alien literatures. He was born at Vilna in 1831, and was graduated from the Rabbinical Seminary there. For about twenty years he taught Hebrew in government schools. He was secretary of the "Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia"; he took an active part in communal work. His life was full of struggle, and he tasted deep of the Jewish tragedy. Some time he spent even in prison and exile. He died in 1892. His numerous books of poetry, tragic, poignant, are intensely Jewish despite, and perhaps because of, their spirit of rebellion. Although Gordon was not a conscious Jewish nationalist, although his message was in fact only negative and destructive, his masterly development of Hebrew style proved of inestimable worth to the national revival.

Perez Smolenskin

Such, indeed, was the unintended result of all the Hebrew labors of the *Maskilim* (see Ch. V), even of those whose avowed purpose was assimilation of Jewish thought with alien cultures. The first conscious nationalist of note in this group was Perez Smolenskin. (See Ch. VII.) From the beginning of his literary labors, he valued and developed the Hebrew language as an end in itself. And later he became a passionate and yet clear-sighted exponent of the Jewish

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national ideal in pre-Zionist days. To him Hebraic renationalization was the only fitting role for the people of the Prophets. When he founded the monthly Hebrew Journal, *Hashahar*, the little group of Hebrew writers who rallied to his support made the Hebrew revival a definite and conscious means for the Jewish national revival.

Development of the Language

The translation of classic and scientific works from all European languages into Hebrew had, besides its avowed purpose of educating the masses of Hebrew-reading Jews, also the effect of enriching and diversifying the Hebrew language. A number of Hebrew periodicals were founded, and the daily Hebrew newspapers that arose did much to render the language flexible. It also, however, unfortunately tended to adulterate it by an infusion of borrowed foreign words. A newspaper must deal with every sort of news. Under pressure of necessity the newspaper man coined or compounded new Hebrew words.

Effect of Nationalism on Hebrew

With the rise of the *Hoveve Zion* movement (see Ch. VIII), numbers of clubs and societies were formed to develop Hebrew as a spoken tongue. Most of the societies did not live long. It was a hard task to convert a written into a spoken language. The societies rose and fell, but the movement persisted. Although Hebrew was now a modern literary language, it was spoken freely by only a few scholars. It was a written not a spoken tongue. Such it must have remained except for the revival of Jewish national life on the Jewish soil. Its revival there as the language of school and market place and home is recounted elsewhere. (See Ch. XXXII.) The reviving and shaping influence of Hebrew speech in Palestine has been felt throughout the dispersion. The language recreated in Palestine has borrowed its wealth from every period of Hebrew literature, and yet does not sacrifice beauty and unity to fluency. So, too, the Hebrew writers of other lands gradually freed themselves from the purifying but narrowing effects of too Biblical a style. Such a style was bound to be artificial as well as restricted. The purpose of Hebrew literature is now altogether Hebraic; one no longer asks whether a Hebrew writer is a Jewish nationalist. One takes it for granted.

Modern Hebrew Poetry

The new literature has been especially rich in poets, practically all of them of East European extraction. Gordon was followed by Menahem Dolitzki, who was the forerunner of a remarkable group of

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modern Hebrew poets. The best of these are Hayim Nahman Bialik, Saul Tchernichovsky, and Zalman Schneier, of whom the greatest is no doubt Bialik. He has chosen a wide field for his work, varying in his themes from light love songs to passionate Zionist lyrics, from careful studies of Jewish cultural values to fiery denunciations of pogroms. He has also distinguished himself as a prose writer. He has, moreover, actively aided the Hebrew revival in another way, for he is the moving spirit of the *Moriah*, a publishing house which has been issuing Hebrew text-books, particularly the monumental work *Sefer Agadah*, a collection in several volumes of the best legends from the Talmud and *Midrashim*.

Tchernichovsky's poetry is full of appreciations of nature, and tends to defy the Jewish traditional view of life. At times he likes to consider himself a "Greek," and addresses Hebrew odes to Apollo or sings the praises of Bacchus.

Schneier, who is the youngest of this group, has nevertheless written poems comparable with Bialik's best works. He is distinguished by a quality of lyric beauty and music in his verse.

Modern Hebrew Prose

Among the prose writers, Ahad Ha-Am, the greatest of modern Hebrew thinkers and philosophers (see Ch. XVII), stands forth pre-eminent as a stylist. He has revolutionized Hebrew prose. Without adopting many foreign words or departing from idiomatic Hebrew, he has been able to express his philosophic ideas with the utmost precision and clearness. About him has gathered a school of writers who model their work upon his.

Solomon Rabinowitz, better known as Shalom Aleichem (1859-1916) and Solomon Jacob Abramowitsch, or Mendele Mocher Sefarim (1836-1917), wrote most of their novels and short stories in Yiddish, but since they either themselves translated into Hebrew or else caused to be translated a large part of their work, and since they also wrote a considerable amount originally in Hebrew, they rank as high in Hebrew literature as they do in Yiddish. These men tasted so deep of Russian Ghetto life that the color, the humor and pathos of their writings, are of the very stuff of reality. Mendele in his youth wandered all over the Jewish Pale, from town to town. Shalom Aleichem came twice to America where, on his second visit, he died. These men helped to create the new life by holding up a mirror to the old.

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Other Writers and Publications

Among the other celebrated Hebrew writers of today are David Frischman, the short story writer, poet, critic, and translator, Jacob Kahn, the poet, Joseph Klausner, publicist, essayist and historian, and Reuben Brainin, writer of stories and essays, and translator. The publicist and litterateur, Nahum Sokolow, one of the foremost Hebraists, has recently sacrificed his literary to his political activities. A host of Hebrew newspapers, weeklies and monthlies as well as dailies, has sprung up, not only in Palestine but also in Eastern Europe and even in America, *Hashiloah*, published in Odessa, the organ of Ahad Ha-Am, Bialik and Klausner; *Hatzefirah*, in Warsaw, a daily paper under the guidance of Nahum Sokolow; and *Hazeman*, another Russian daily, functioned until the war. *Ha-olam*, Hebrew Zionist weekly in Russia, also stopped by the war, has reappeared under the title of Ha-Am. In the United States, *Hatoren* is a Hebrew Zionist weekly, published under the auspices of the Zionist Organization; and *Ha-ivri* is the organ of the *Mizrahi* party in America.

Re-creation of an Ancient Tongue

Many of the words of this new-old language have been revived, recreated from all epochs of Hebrew literature, and many have had to be created. But most of them have been born in the spirit of our ancient Hebrew speech. Scientific terms are often compounded of old Hebrew words, or are based on primal Semitic forms, so that they have sprung new-blown from the old roots. This re-creation has been stimulated by the new Jewish life in Palestine, where Hebrew writers are forced to deal with such subjects as agriculture, medicine, geography, and music.

Effect of Palestinian Hebrew on the Diaspora

The revival of Hebrew speech, if not yet of Hebrew literature, is a gift to the Diaspora from Palestine. (For Ben Yehudah and his *Millon* and the *Va-ad Halashon*, see Ch. XXXII.) In Palestine, Hebrew is spoken with the *Sephardic* accent, with a crispness and beauty and rhythm that ought to guide the teachers in the dispersion. It has not yet been adopted by all the Hebrew schools in other lands. And even most of our poets use the *Ashkenazic* pronunciation learned and used by them in the Russian Ghetto, so that their poems cannot be read properly with the *Sephardic* accent. This is perhaps inevitable, because of the general use of the *Ashkenazic* Hebrew and its association with the synagogue service, which compels its use also in the

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schools. But in all else, Palestinian Hebrew has re-shaped and, in fact, created a spoken Hebrew in the Diaspora. The *Ivrit be-Ivrit* (or modern, spoken) method of teaching Hebrew has been adopted in our Hebrew schools, so that in all countries—not only in Eastern Europe—Jewish children and adults are learning to speak Hebrew fluently. In England and America, a remarkable modern Hebrew school system has developed, based on the Palestinian methods. The teachers are generally college-bred, enthusiastic young men and women, with an infusion, since the war, of young Palestinians in temporary exile. And it need hardly be added that practically all the teachers are Zionists. Large Hebrew *Folk Schulen* taught by similar methods, have been established by Zionists in New York and Chicago.

The eighth Zionist Congress adopted Hebrew as its official language, and since then at each successive Congress more and more speeches have been made in Hebrew. (See Ch. X.) In America the *Histadrut Ivrit*, an organization for the spread of Hebrew knowledge which operates through publications, classes, and clubs, is officially related with the Department of Education of the Zionist Organization. It has gained much from the stimulus of Palestinian Jews stranded here by the war. The popularity of Hebrew is making of Hebrew teaching a remunerative profession. Hebrew-speaking clubs abound, and even Hebrew lectures and plays are well attended. A new cultural value has been created from one of the oldest of cultural tongues.

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Subjects for Papers:

The novel in modern Hebrew literature. Poetry of Bialik.

CHAPTER XVII

AHAD HA-AM*

Boyhood and Youth

Asher Ginsberg, more widely known by his pseudonym of "Ahad Ha-Am" (One of the People), was born on August 5, 1856, in the town of Skvira, government of Kiev, Russia. His parents were of good *Hassidic* stock, and enjoyed a comparatively fair measure of worldly prosperity. Brought up as a *Hassid*, Ginsberg received the *Heder* training common among Jewish youths of his day. His assiduous study of Hebrew soon made him an adept in Biblical and Talmudic lore. But this was not sufficient for him. Fired by an ambition to master the more important secular branches of knowledge and yet unwilling to incur the wrath of those dear to him, he studied Russian in a clandestine manner, which enabled him, nevertheless, to ground himself thoroughly in that language. In 1873, at the age of only seventeen, he was married to a young lady who was descended from a well-known Rabbinical family. Five years later, with the object of making what might be called his "grand tour," he visited Odessa. So impressed was he by the incidents of his trip that he determined to spend several years in travel and study.

Years of Study and Preparation

The year 1882 saw him in Vienna, 1883 and 1884 in Berlin and Breslau; all this time he occupied himself with German, French, English, and Russian philosophy, by no means neglecting, in the meantime, the systems of the great thinkers of his own people. Fully equipped with natural talents and with the treasures of learning he had acquired during these formative years, he revisited Odessa in 1884. His ability was at once recognized, and he was made a member of the central committee of the *Hoveve Zion*, of which Dr. Pinsker was then president.

Criticism of the Hoveve Zion

Having taken up a permanent residence in Odessa, he became deeply interested in the method of solving the Jewish problem which

* Adapted from an Essay by Dr. Aaron Shaffer.

the Lovers of Zion were at that time exploiting. He came under the eye of the publicist, Alexander Zederbaum, the editor of a Hebrew periodical, *Hamelitz*, and himself an ardent champion in the cause of his stricken brethren. The very first article contributed by Ahad Ha-Am to *Hamelitz* showed clearly the trend of his thoughts. An idealist from the very first, he rebelled against the spirit of crass materialism which seemed to dominate the minds of some of the leaders of the *Hoveve Zion*. The chief aim of these men, it seemed to him, was to attempt to relieve the physical distress of the fugitives from Russia and Rumania; to their spiritual needs, but little attention was paid. The colonists, it is true, had been prompted by only the purest motives to undertake their great pioneer work; but even they were rapidly losing this idealism under the degenerating influence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild's philanthropic system of finance. In a word, Palestine was being utilized as a safe refuge, not for Judaism, but solely for the Jews.

Lo Zu Haderech (This is not the Way), an article written in 1889, laid down Ahad Ha-Am's theories on the question of the improvement of Jewish conditions. The aspiring young writer pointed out the fact that the *Hoveve Zion* had been hasty and unscientific in their schemes of colonization. The great defect in their system, according to him, had been the absence of that communistic spirit on which so much stress is laid in the Bible, and the consequent dominance of individualism. The only way to bring about a renaissance of Jewish nationalism (and this was written, we must not forget, in Ahad Ha-Am's first printed article, proving that he had thought out the matter while he was still a very young man) was to create a renaissance of the Jewish heart, of the spirit of Judaism. Palestine, he asserted, must not solve the Jewish problem; it must solve the problem of Judaism. This could be brought about only by developing in the Jewish people their rich and peculiar culture.

The B'ne Moshe

These theories Ahad Ha-Am embodied in practical form in the constitution of a secret Zionist league organized by him at about this time, the *B'ne Moshe* (Sons of Moses). Ahad Ha-Am, who is a great believer in leadership and in the responsibility of the elect, gathered in it a group of exceptional men. This league remained in existence during the eight years from 1889 to 1897, disbanding, as we see, in the very year in which the first Zionist Congress was held. The purposes of the *B'ne Moshe* were threefold; first, the betterment and

broadening of Hebrew education; secondly, the fostering of a love for Hebrew literature; and lastly, the furthering of agricultural settlement in Palestine. The league accomplished much, and was of importance in developing a number of the later Zionist leaders, among them, M. M. Ussischkin and Shmarya Levin.

Literary Activity

It is at about this period in Ahad Ha-Am's life that his literary activity really begins. In 1890, he became the editor of a Zionist Hebrew periodical, the *Kaveret*. Here was published the series of articles known by their general caption *Emet me-Erez Israel* (Truth from the land of Israel). These articles were exhaustive reports on education and colonization in Palestine, and were the direct results of visits paid to the Holy Land by Ahad Ha-Am in 1893 and 1894, as the representative of numerous Palestinian committees. They contained mercilessly objective criticisms of the shortcomings of the colonization work. There then took shape in his mind that doctrine which was to play so large a part in Zionist thought and activity, and which he preached, and is still preaching, so wholeheartedly—the doctrine of the cultural as well as the material rebirth of a nation at once rich in treasures of learning and in the goods of this world, a rebirth that must be attended by infinite patience and rational activity.

A collection of essays was published in 1895 and revised for a second edition in 1902, under the title of *Al Parashat Derachim* (At the Parting of the Ways), a collection many of the essays of which have since been translated into Russian, German, and English. Ahad Ha-Am's literary activity earned for him, in 1896, a post of great significance for the development of modern Hebrew literature, that of head of the great Hebrew publishing establishment, the *Ahiasaf*. In this capacity he modified and enlarged the program of the institution under his direction, always with the welfare of his cherished language, Hebrew, at heart. At about this time, too, he became the editor of *Hashiloah*, a Hebrew monthly which, until its discontinuance at the outbreak of the Great War, enjoyed the reputation of being the best among contemporaneous Hebrew periodicals. In the early years of the present century, Ahad Ha-Am accepted a responsible position in the great Russian tea firm of the Wissotzkys, but this did not take him away completely from the field of letters. In recent years, as the representative of the Wissotzky Tea Company, he has been living in London, where he is one of the best-beloved and most influential leaders of English Jewry and of English Zionism.

His Philosophy

For Ahad Ha-Am, Judaism is a living and functional organism which asserted itself centuries ago in the creation of a specific type of life, a life which embodies the Hebrew spirit. The early history of the Hebrews is nothing more nor less than the history of the development and formulation of this Hebrew spirit. This Hebrew genius was at all times essentially religious and moral, never materialistic. Thus, the typical products of this spirit are the Prophets, men who fearlessly enunciated the mighty truths leading toward morality and social justice. For Ahad Ha-Am, Moses, the most imposing figure in Jewish history, if not in the history of mankind, was not primarily a military hero, nor a statesman, nor even a lawgiver. Moses was, to use Ahad Ha-Am's own words, "the lord of the Prophets," and, as such, "the ideal archetype of Hebrew prophecy in the purest and most exalted sense of the word." In the nation at large, the welfare and salvation of the individual was subordinated to that of the whole. "So it was," we read in *Flesh and Spirit*, "that Israel as a community became a nation consecrated from its birth to the service of setting the whole of mankind an example by its law." Yet, paradoxical though this may seem, despite the fact that the individual good is merged in that of the community, individualism is by no means barred. Indeed, Judaism, as Ahad Ha-Am points out in what is perhaps one of the most inspired of all his essays, *Transvaluation of Values* (1898), demands that each Jew be a moral superman, so that the Jewish nation might thereby fulfill the prophetic visions of a moral supnation. As the Prophet is, in our author's estimation, the Hebrew superman, *par excellence*, the Jewish nation must in time become, not a "kingdom of Priests", but a "nation of Prophets".

What Judaism needs today, in the opinion of Ahad Ha-am, is the "possibility of combining the unadulterated Jewishness of the Ghetto with the breadth and freedom of modern life." The breadth and freedom of modern life, be that life as broad and free as it may be, is, without this unadulterated Jewishness, of no value to the Jew. In his essay, *Slavery in Freedom* (1891), Ahad Ha-Am holds up to ridicule the mixture of chauvinism and cosmopolitanism which dominates the Jews of France, and the ethical slavery in which they live. In another essay, *Doctor Pinsker and His Brochure*, written shortly after the death of the author of *Auto-Emancipation*, after giving an interesting and valuable *resumé* of the practical work accomplished by Dr. Pinsker and the ideas set forth in his book, Ahad Ha-Am tells

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us his own view of the solution of the Jewish problem. We read: "What we lack above all is a fixed spot to serve as a national and spiritual center, a safe retreat, not for the Jews, but for Judaism, for the spirit of our people. Only in the land of Israel can such a center be established."

Thus the two, the growth of the Jewish spirit throughout the world and the gradual infiltration of settlers into Palestine, will work hand in hand.

How is such a Jewish spirit to be cultivated among those who do not at present possess it? Chiefly, says Ahad Ha-Am, through a renaissance of the Hebrew language. Himself the greatest Hebrew writer of the present day, and using Hebrew always and alone as his literary medium, he advocates a thorough study of Hebrew literature and a revival of the Hebrew language.

Relation with the Zionist Organization

It is only natural that Ahad Ha-Am should not have found himself in complete accord with Herzl's platform of "political Zionism". Though he attended the first Zionist Congress, in 1897, he seems to have been somewhat disappointed. Since that time, he has been constantly preaching his creed of "Cultural" or "moral" Zionism, as it is sometimes called. In recent years he has advocated the establishment in Palestine of a university and of more institutions like the *Bezalel*.

Recent developments, which have welded Zionism into a closer unity, have integrated the ideas of Ahad Ha-Am with the very stuff of political Zionism. He himself is now closely identified with the movement, having joined the Political Committee in England just before the Balfour Declaration. The development of Hebrew as our national language has come to the forefront, especially in view of the possible danger to that language from a large Yiddish-speaking migration to Palestine in the near future. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the British Zionist Commission to Palestine, is deeply imbued with the ideas of Ahad Ha-Am. And the first political act of the Jewish people on its own soil has been the laying, on Mount Scopus, of the corner-stone of the Hebrew University.

References:

Selected Essays, by Ahad Ha-Am.

Subjects for Papers:

Resumés of any of the following essays: *Moses, Slavery in Freedom, Prophet and Priest, The Spiritual Revival, Pinsker and His Brochure, Imitation and Assimilation, or Flesh and Spirit.*

CHAPTER XVIII

ZIONISM AND JUDAISM

Historic Causes for an Apparent Contradiction

The early Zionists were in many cases men who had broken with traditional Judaism. In as many other cases, they were rabbis of the most conservative type and Orthodox Jews who saw in Zionism a traditional Jewish aspiration taking practical shape. However, the former are those who have attracted attention, and who have raised the question as to the relation of Zionism to Judaism. Since Zionism with them—especially in Russia—was often the last stage of a reaction against the superstitions of *Hessidism* and the narrowness of Talmudism, the national ideal appeared as unreligious or even anti-religious. On the other hand, since the Reform Jews based their attenuated "religion" on a divorce from nationalism, there arose in the West too the notion that Jewish nationalism had nothing to do with Jewish religion.

Relation of Zionism with Judaism—as Proved by Prayers

The fact is that Zionism and Judaism are warp and woof of the fabric of Jewish life, and that they were separated and unravelled only when that life came in danger of complete unravelment. Proof of this is to be found in every aspect of Jewish religious life prior to the Reform and *Haskalah* movements. For example, take the daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers. Not only is a large part of them directly national, in that they refer to the restoration of Zion and to the rebuilding of the Temple, but even those which are not directly so, imply nationalism (1) by referring to Israel as a unit and in terms of a people, (2) by being almost exclusively in the first person plural, that is, by speaking not in behalf of the individual but in behalf of the community, and (3) by using the form: "Our God and God of our fathers," which refers back to the historic national descent. The Union Prayer Book of the Reform Jews had practically to be rewritten to avoid national references; and even so it avoided only the direct, not the indirect ones. The *Sh'ma*, from beginning to end, has national implications. Note, too, in the Orthodox prayer book,

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the prayers for the restoration of the sacrifices in Jerusalem, and also the repetition in the ritual of the laws regarding them. These were preserved because of the conviction of a speedy national return when they might again be used, and have been retained always for their ancient national significance.

As Proved by Festivals and Ceremonies

The ceremonies and festivals are predominantly national. For example: Passover, which is the festival of national liberation. Note its songs and exclamations (Next year in Jerusalem, *El B'ne*, etc.), which refer to the future redemption. The harvest festivals of *Shabuot* and *Sukkot*: To celebrate the harvest in a land far off, and recall always the beauty of the lost homeland, can be nothing else than national. The *lulab*, for example, recalls the vegetation of Palestine. *Hanukkah* is the celebration of a national victory, the sanctification of Jewish patriotism. Even the Sabbath is referred to in the ritual as "a memorial of the coming forth from Egypt", of the national liberation.

As Proved by Laws

Jewish legal development in the dispersion was a national phenomenon. When Yohanan ben Zakkai fled from Jerusalem in siege and founded the Academy of Yavneh, he did so in order to save Jewish national life and culture. The subject of study was Jewish law. This Law was national. The traditional development of Jewish law has always included those national laws which applied only to the land, the *Mitzvot Hateluyot Ba-arez*, and which were preserved and discussed and developed in order that the Jews, on their return to their own land, should be able again to apply them. (See Ch. IV.)

As Proved by the Bible

The Bible is nationalist throughout, from the very first covenant of God with Abraham to the last Prophetic utterances. And this nationalism nowhere even vaguely foreshadows the ideal of a people in dispersion. On the contrary, the dispersion is everywhere referred to as a horrible calamity, and the land of Israel is from first to last an intrinsic part not only of the national life of Israel but also of the internationalism which is finally to come about through the salvation of Israel. Note the lyrical Prophetic portions that foretell the restoration to Zion.

Historic Role of the Jewish People

But compared to the complete conception of the historic role of

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the Jewish people, all these are only phases of its expression. Prayer-book, ritual, and festival, the Bible and the vast store of legalism and tradition that has developed from its laws, are all in the service of a simple and definite conception of the role of the Jewish people in history. It was a conception common to all Jews and taken for granted by them before the Reform movement. The Jewish people was chosen by God to become His people, that is, to live by His laws, in order that through the example of their national life mankind might return to the laws of God. God gave them, or lent them, the Land of Canaan—Palestine—a land flowing with milk and honey, to keep so long as they kept His laws. If they failed to keep their side of this covenant, the nations would have to learn from the punishment of Israel what Israel had failed to exemplify in practice. In other words, God having chosen the Jewish people for this task, He was resolved that at last they should fulfill it, even if they must be schooled to it by centuries of exile and even if only a remnant should return. The dispersion is a punishment. At last, when we are worthy and when the time is ripe, God will return us to our land and through our national restoration bring about the salvation of mankind and the brotherhood of nations.

The Miracle of Zionism

History has so far apparently not belied this Jewish conception of Jewish history—which, indeed, kept the Jewish people in life—and the present climax in history seems to point to its speedy fulfillment. Those who on so-called religious grounds believe that this fulfillment must be brought about by a miracle, an act of God, and who therefore denounce the Zionist movement as trying to force God's hand, are historically and ethically unjustified. The return under Ezra and Nehemiah was brought about much like the present one, by human effort and through the good will and the official declaration of Cyrus, a Gentile ruler. And why should we no longer be the instrument of God? If He is to use us as the instrument of redemption of the nations, why should He not use us as the instrument of our own redemption? The Messiah and the Messianic period may be expected as well after as before our return. And who dare deny a higher mandate to those of our Zionists who have been conscious of acting under divine compulsion, either as individuals or as a body?

The Zionist Movement and the Jewish Faith

The official Zionist Organization is not a religious organization

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any more than the Board of Trustees of a synagogue is distinctly a religious organization, or deals with religious questions. The Organization has to do with the means, not the end. But the Organization from the first (see Ch. X) has respected Judaism and all Jewish values. Even Zionists who had been far removed from Jewish life admitted the necessity of taking that position. But why are many Zionists anything but observant Jews? That proves rather than disproves the Jewish, the religious value, of the movement. For these Zionists were far removed from Jewish life before they became Zionists. Zionism did not make them unobservant. Zionism alone was able to draw them back, even partially, into Jewish life, because it appealed to the deepest thing in Judaism, the sense of national election. Zionism has not yet done for them all it can and must do for the Jewish people.

Relation of Religious to National Life

In the Jewish nation there will no doubt be Jews of every shade of opinion. A normal religion has little to do with opinion. There will be no State Church. The State Church tyranny grew out of Christianity, where a religion was thrust from above upon a people which had not developed it. From the day of Protestantism the State Church was imperilled, and democracy cannot endure it. However, national religion is very different from a State Church. Our national religion will be Judaism not because it will be forced upon anyone—for indeed minority religions and other interests must be carefully safeguarded—but because it will be the natural expression of the life of the Jewish people.

If the community observes the Sabbath in its public life, the national festivals and the holy-days, if Jewish law is embodied in the law and moral and social code and public opinion of the country, if Jewish ideals of internationalism and justice are practised in our dealings with foreign powers, will not the Jewish nation be living by the Jewish faith? A new conception of religion is attracting the attention of psychologists and sociologists, the conception of religion as the soul of a people, as a corporate manifestation of group life, not merely, in the Christian sense, as a form of personal belief. That new conception is the ancient Jewish conception which must now be tested by modern experience. And only under normal conditions will our faith live once more, will it be not merely a pious memory, to be preserved and cherished, but a living soul that will grow and develop and bless mankind with its works? We have heard much of Jewish

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ethics, but Jewish ethics without a Jewish land can have little meaning save for the individual, and can have no development. For unless a people can make laws—as it can do only under autonomy—it cannot have distinctive ethics. For laws are the embodiment of the ethical ideals of a people. Unless ethical thinking can finally find its expression in laws, it is to no purpose. Whatever today we call Jewish ethics, is only a reflection from the legalism of the past.

Zionism came into the world at a time of crisis and disintegration, and came as a savior to gather about its standard the remnant that remained true to the living Jewish ideal. As such, it is not only compatible with Judaism, but Judaism without it is not compatible with life.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE JEWISH LAW AND THE JEWISH LAND*

Confusion in Use of Term "Jewish" to Designate Land and Religion

The difficulty which presents itself in the consideration of this question arises out of the confusion caused by the use of the word "Jewish". The Jewish land is so-called because it is the land of our forefathers, to which our people are turning for the purpose of re-acquiring a home there. The term does not connote a land inhabited exclusively by Jews. It is a land which will ultimately be largely settled by Jews, who will become the dominant element in the population and exercise the strongest influence on its economic and legal policy and development.

The Jewish law is the law of the Jews, but not necessarily the law of the Jewish land. Furthermore, we must take care in speaking of Jewish law to distinguish sharply between the religious and the secular law. Although both have the same origin, there is no doubt that Jewish law recognizes its division into law relating to matters of faith and ritual, or what we should call religious law, and law relating to matters of property, contract, wrongs, crimes, or what we should call civil law. The administration of the religious law is the function of the Church; the administration of the civil law is the function of the state. Where there is a state church or a national religion exercising a direct influence in governmental affairs, the state may also make and administer religious law; but Zion will be a modern state in which church, or rather synagogue, and state will be absolutely divorced. In Zion, Jews may live a Jewish life, and Judaism may flourish free from the interference of alien and hostile religious systems, but no religion or religious observance will be forced on either Jews or non-Jews. The Jewish religious law is entirely beyond the sphere of modern state legislation. In Zion, as in all other modern states, breach of religious law will be a social and not a legal offense. Social forces will exact a certain conformity to it and social ostracism may punish its breach. Much of the confusion of thought which has

* By David Werner Amram. The views herein expressed are personal to the author.

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manifested itself in reference to this problem would disappear, if we would speak of the Palestinian State or Judaea or the Zion Republic or the Land of Israel instead of the Jewish State or the Jewish Land.

Separation of Religious from Secular Law

To recapitulate, the Jewish land, being a land occupied by Jews and non-Jews, must have a system of laws wherein the religious and the civil law are separate. The former being administered by the religious organization of society and not by the state, may be as varied as the religious groups; the latter being administered by the state and not by the church, or synagogue or mosque, should be uniform and equally binding on all the people. There may be some legal categories that partake of the nature of both civil and religious law, as for example, the law of domestic relations, and for these, special provision will have to be made in the system.

Secular Law in a Modern Palestinian State

The entire problem of the law in Palestine depends on the interpretation which the Powers will permit the people of Palestine to give to their life. If Palestine is to be an asylum for oppressed and exiled Jews, it will be a place of vastly different complexion than if it is to become the ground upon which Jews will build up a new nation, incorporating the existing communities and such other people, of whatever race or faith, who may choose to go there hereafter. The Ghetto conception of the New Zion may be dismissed as practically impossible. Ghettos arise only among unfree people living in limited areas. No Ghetto can arise among people living an agricultural or farming life. Neither the free people living in the Jewish villages today, nor the many who will go there, can be presumed to desire to establish a religious, rabbinically-governed state in Palestine. All that has been said by Zionists in America and Europe indicates that the state in Palestine is intended to be a modern state in which religion and politics are to be kept separate.

Influence of Jewish Civil Law

The Jewish civil law will be one of the sources of the law of the new state, but only insofar as its principles are in conformity with the ideals of modern jurisprudence will they be considered as at all essential in its legal thought. The Palestinian state, for its own sake and for the sake of the principle upon which it shall be established, cannot permit rules and principles of an older day to limit and deflect

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the healthy growth of a modern community. The law which shall again go forth from Zion will be a law acceptable to all the free men of the world.

The foregoing observations broadly indicate the probable fate of the Jewish law in Palestine. The religious law will be left to the subtle and irresistible influence of social forces working silently through the logic of events, and may be modified and developed by a specifically religious *Sanhedrin* which may be invested with the ample power and authority of its ancient prototype. The civil law will be boldly handled by the national legislature and courts, and will be shaped by conscious processes of legislation and judicial decision.

Changes in Jewish Law

There can be no doubt that large areas of the field of old Jewish civil law will be abandoned or modernized. For example, the old law renders women and children incompetent as witnesses in legal proceedings. Can this continue in the light of the modern conception of the civil and political status of women and the modern rule of evidence that children who know the difference between right and wrong may testify, the question of credibility in each case being left, as in all other cases, to the tribunal? American Zionists, by declaring for political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land, have expressed the opinion that the Jewish law, insofar as it militates against this declaration, should be abolished. To take an example from the field of partly religious, partly civil law, shall the state recognize mixed marriages? The Jewish law does not recognize such marriages and no doubt may continue to deprive the parties of their rights as members of the religious community, but the law of Zion must recognize such marriages created by civil contract and must provide for their solemnization by civil authority. No doubt such marriages will be infrequent, but when they do occur they must be sanctioned by law. Declaring them illegal, because Jewish or Moslem religious law does not recognize them, will create rather than solve a problem. We may go further and take for granted that even the purely religious law will be modified by custom or Sanhedrial legislation.

The Palestinian state must recognize the religious day of rest of every religious group, and allow the members of such group to work on any other day. The Jew resting on the seventh day may work on the first. But what of the Jew who works on the seventh day? He may be deprived of synagogal or religious rights, but can the old

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Jewish law be invoked to punish him? Obviously not. Who would attempt, even if it were legally possible, to enforce the old law that provides the death penalty for the Sabbath-breaker? Until the Palestinian State becomes autonomous, its Jewish courts will have no criminal jurisdiction, and when the State shall become autonomous its courts will no longer be Jewish in the sense that they will be administering Jewish religious law. Nor will they be administering Jewish civil law except as it has been modified to conform to modern juristic thought. The Jewish civil law, that is to say, the law of the Jewish land, will be an amalgam of Jewish, Moslem, Turkish, English, and international law, welded into a modern system inspired by world thought.

The old Jewish criminal law, practically obsolete for centuries, will never be revived. It lives only in the *Yeshivot* as an exercise in legal logic. Much of the Jewish criminal law applied to Jews only, for example the case just cited, breaking the Sabbath. A Gentile cannot be guilty of a breach of the Jewish law which binds Jews only. But whatever is a crime for Jews only, cannot be crime at all in the Palestinian state in which Jews and non-Jews are equal before the law. Eating forbidden food was severely punished by flagellation. But non-Jews cannot be punished for this offense, because they are not bound by the restriction which the law placed on the Jew's diet. Shall the law in Zion penalize non-Jews for eating forbidden food? Obviously not. Then it cannot punish Jews for this offense, and we are driven to the legal conclusion that a Jew may eat forbidden food with legal impunity in Zion. A modern state cannot classify crimes according to the racial or religious character of the offender.

Shall the death penalty for murder be inflicted? The Jewish law is clear on this point, and insists on the death of the murderer. But it is quite probable that the legislative authority in Zion will abolish this survival of ancient systems of penology, which investigation has proven inefficient, and which a more refined sense of the relation of men in society has declared a barbarism. It is most likely that in Zion social and economic conditions, which are the fundamental causes of most crimes, will be so readjusted as to minimize criminal acts. The example of the existing Jewish settlements shows that crime may practically disappear in communities in which social justice is an actuality instead of a mere hope. And when crime does appear, it will be recognized as the result of disease rather than of wickedness.

The Administrators of Law

As the law of Zion will not be merely the old Jewish law but a new and modernized system of jurisprudence, there is no reason why any competent person may not act as its administrator. Zion will be a state in which no religious test of fitness for civil or political rights will be admitted. Social selection will determine the choice of judges, and when the community is preponderatingly Jewish the judges will be mostly Jews. But none will or ought to be excluded from full participation in all public functions by reason of religious or racial affiliations. A contrary principle would destroy the entire *raison d'être* of the Palestinian state, except as an asylum for the oppressed. This, while eminently desirable, is not the object of Zionism as conceived by its modern interpreters.

The People will Recreate a Law to Live By

However reasonable our view of future events may appear to us, the events themselves may mock our effort to anticipate them. The law in Palestine will be made by its people, and until we know who they are, what they want, and how they will express their will, we can only grope blindly toward a solution of the problem we have set ourselves. Of two things we may be assured: first, that changes in the law will be made, and that the existing law will be adapted to the conditions of a new social life; second, that the future administrators and interpreters of the law will find ample authority for their method of changing the law and for the changes themselves in the law as it exists. Every system of law is inherently endowed with the power to change itself, and it confers that power through inevitable necessity on persons whom it qualifies in anticipation of their appointment, or in ratification of their accomplished acts. Neither the Jewish religious law nor the Jewish civil law can remain immutable. Legal unchangeableness is a legal fiction. The laws were given that man might live by them, and the Talmudist who interpreted this Biblical text to mean "not to die by them", uttered a dictum which may well be invoked by future legal reformers in Palestine in support of the radical changes that a new era may demand.*

* See Appendix I, p. 226, for a note on the subject matter of this Chapter.

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CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE JEWISH STATE

Our Present Opportunity and Our Past Tradition

In the Zionist social opportunity, we have the remarkable and unique combination of a practically clean slate to write upon and of a progressive, cultivated people to do the writing. We will have few precedents to overcome. Even the United States had not so free a hand, for there was less opportunity for planning in advance, and there was not a unified people to carry its plans into effect. Yet the Western states, which came nearer to this ideal than the East, are far more progressive and democratic. More important, however, than our practical freedom is our spiritual tradition. Our Prophets were they who helped teach to the world the ideal of democracy. The social legislation laid down by Moses before the Jewish state came into being is still a model for the most advanced democracies, and as the world progresses, we discover ever new depths of national, intra-national and international morality in our Bible which gain meaning from our modern problems, and hold the solution that humanity seeks. The new Jewish law will no doubt be found to embody all the important principles of the old, which are capable of application in every age and express the essential character of the Jewish spirit. Their concrete application will necessarily vary in accordance with changed conditions. This variation will not mean a surrender of any valid principle, but the adoption of the necessary method of making such principles effective in modern society. Jewish law has developed thus throughout the ages, even when theorizing alone was left to us, and it holds within itself the seeds of development. There will be an evolution in Jewish law but not a revolution, and the new law will resemble the old in the same way that the man of forty resembles the youth of twenty, despite the changes that the years have wrought in his body and soul. Change in the concrete form of the law is, however, inevitable. (See Ch. XIX.) Our genius has been that of law-givers. Our past puts on us this tremendous obligation which we must expect ourselves, and which the world also expects us to meet.

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Democratic Organization of Zionism

The Zionist Organization, at least, has fulfilled this obligation from the start. Its form is completely democratic. In the management of the Organization, there is universal equal suffrage for both men and women. The government is representative and by elected committees.

Social Problems in Modern Palestine

In Palestine, in spite of the small present population of the country, which gives us practical freedom for the future, certain social and economic problems already exist, which it should be our first business to solve. These are as follows: The conditions of poverty in the towns, where the old quarters are horribly unsanitary, where among certain sections of the people there have been generations of filth, disease, dependence, underfeeding and ignorance; bad hygienic conditions through bad engineering, such as inadequate or poor water-supply, swamps and other conditions that breed vermin; improper housing, even in some of the new Jewish villages, where the poorer working people have lived under conditions that compare unfavorably with American and European slums; the extremely low standard of the native Arab population, which reacts badly also on the Jewish settlers in keeping down the wages of Jewish workmen; the problem of the Yemenite or Arabian Jews, whose standard of living approaches that of the native Arabs, and who are therefore contented to accept wages which are nowhere near a living wage for the Russian Jewish workman; the wage problem in general; the lack of industry and commerce and the consequent dearth of employment; the growth of a small capitalist class with private holdings in land and natural resources; and, finally, the whole question of the relation between Jews, Arabs, and other nationalities in the land. A mass migration of Jews, planned in advance and based upon principles as definite as those by which Moses guided the mass migration from Egypt, will solve many of these problems automatically. Several of them have already been appreciably lessened by recent events. For example: It was Turkish taxation and mal-administration that kept the people poor and wages down; it was largely the *Halukkah*—a system that during the war failed to function—which perpetuated Jewish dependency. British engineering has already improved water and other hygienic conditions. So far as numbers go, these are all miniature problems, which need not reproduce themselves, especially since the Zionist Organization, as well as the Jewish pioneers in Pales-

tine, have already created instruments of justice to forestall or correct them.

Zionist Instruments for Social and Economic Justice

The Zionist Organization, early in its history, created two financial institutions based upon ideals that are thoroughly Jewish—that is, democratic and just—and which have already had and are destined still more to have a great influence on Palestinian development. These are the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Colonial Trust. (See Ch. XI.) The National Fund is based on the principle that the land in Palestine should belong to the whole Jewish people, and should be only leased to individuals on long term and hereditary leases, under such guarantees and safeguards as to make profiteering impossible. Naturally the holdings of the J. N. F., administered on these principles, have in the past been limited. The Jewish Colonial Trust, with its democratic system of shareholding, bids fair to become a government bank, controlled by the people, which would from the first eliminate private banking and make the giving of rural credits a government function. In Palestinian colonization the Zionist Organization has consistently supported only those schemes which embodied Jewish ideals of social and economic justice. The two co-operative workmen's farms, Daganian and Merhaviah, which were planned by Dr. Franz Oppenheimer with a view to profit-sharing and ultimate complete control of the villages by the workmen, were founded on National Fund land and with the aid of the Zionist Congress. In America the Zion Commonwealth, with its features of social legislation, has been sanctioned by the Organization and works in relation with it. The Zion Commonwealth is a nation-wide organization of American Jews who wish to settle later on their own land in Palestine. The members buy land certificates in the Commonwealth, through partial payments, which entitle them, after a period of six years, to a piece of agricultural land on which they may either settle or which will be worked for them by the Corporation—on a co-operative basis of labor—and will pay them a certain small definite percentage on their investment. At least ten per cent. of all land will be retained by the Corporation for communal purposes, all town lands being so held, and the land can be sold only to the Corporation or with the consent of the Corporation, and at a fixed sum excluding all profit beyond the regular percentages. All land values beyond this fixed agricultural value will revert to the community. Thus, although the individual has the benefits of private possession, private ownership is not permitted to become an abuse of public rights.

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- Democracy in Jewish Palestine

The Jewish villages in Palestine were from the first autonomous and, without any agreement or inter-village organization, all developed democratic forms of community government. That was a natural sequel to democratic Jewish community life wherever else Jewish communities have been autonomous. Both men and women have voted for the members of the *Vaad* or town committee, and have served on it; but in some cases there have been property qualifications for voters, a thing not to be tolerated in our new state. The public school system in Jewish Palestine, even in the pre-war days, had reached a high state of development. The Jewish devotion to education is closely bound up with the instinct for democracy, which is possible only where there is general education. Other forms of co-operation adopted early by the Jewish settlers themselves were: (1) Mutual loan societies, whereby farmers were organized in groups, guaranteeing each other's credit, and so securing loans from banks and societies on fair terms. This is the most effectual means of eliminating the loan sharp evil, and it is only now that we in the United States are beginning to catch up with this program. (2) Sales organizations among the Jewish farmers. Two societies practically control the production, sale, and export of oranges in Palestine. The co-operative vine-growers' associations now control the famous wine-cellars of Rishon l'Zion, and have stabilized the investments in that important industry. (3) The Teachers' Union practically controls education in the only possible democratic way. (4) *Hashomer*. (5) Co-operative workmen's organizations for buying and selling and mutual protection. A force for social justice in Palestine is the two workingmen's organizations, *Hapoel Hazair* and the *Poale Zion*, the Socialist faction of the Zionist Organization. (See Ch. XV.) In Palestine they have organized workmen's unions, published workmen's journals, taken part in the co-operative system of *Shomerim*, or Jewish police force, for guarding the Jewish villages against marauders, and furnished most of the members for the co-operative workmen's colonies.

Democracy among Zionists

But although the *Poale Zion* are the specifically Socialist wing of the Zionists, the large majority of Zionists, as individuals, are social-minded, with the natural Jewish tendency to erect the Jewish state along lines of social justice. As for the organization and the official utterances and acts of its leaders, they are all in agreement.

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Many writers on the Zionist position, from Moses Hess to Louis D. Brandeis—and more especially Herzl in all his writings—have emphasized the social and democratic aspects of the movement, and, indeed, it is these aspects which have chiefly attracted and interested many of our leaders, notably Brandeis himself. Herzl it was who advocated the seven-hour work day and other forms of progressive economic organization. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the first acts of the Zionist Commission was to prevent the buying of land for speculative purposes, nor that the Zionist Convention held in the United States, at Pittsburgh, in the June following the British Declaration (see Ch. XIV) should have unanimously adopted the following program:

The Pittsburgh Program

In 1897, the first Zionist Congress at Basle defined the object of Zionism to be “the establishment of a publicly recognized and legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.” The recent declarations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and others of the Allied democratic states have established this public recognition of the Jewish national home as an international fact.

Therefore we desire to affirm anew the principles which have guided the Zionist movement since its inception and which were the foundations laid down by our lawgivers and Prophets for the ancient Jewish state, and were the inspiration of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile.

First. Political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.

Second. To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources and of all public utilities by the whole people.

Third. All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

Fourth. The co-operative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.

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Fifth. The fiscal policy shall be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every other form of financial oppression.

Sixth. The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

Seventh. The medium of public instruction shall be Hebrew, the national language of the Jewish people.

Interpretation of the Program

The inferences to be drawn from these principles are far reaching. The first has a direct bearing on the Arab question and the Jewish obligation of equal justice toward what after a large Jewish immigration will become a minority people. The second probably will embody itself in some such system as the Single Tax which tends to destroy private ownership without any forcible dispossession of individuals. As we begin with a clean slate, and with such instruments as the J. C. T. and the J. N. F. to carry out our policies, it should be comparatively easy to keep control of natural resources. In an agricultural country, such as Palestine is destined always to be, the land and natural resources are at the base of every social and economic question. This is essentially true even of industrial states, but there it is not so self-evident. Hence the most important step is to adopt a just land policy. Out of it will naturally grow what may be called modified or adapted Socialism, that is, Socialist theory adapted to the particular needs of our society and our land. The seventh article in the Program refers to an internal Jewish question, and is directed against Yiddish. It has no reference to Arabic, which must of course be duly respected, and which, as a very widely used language in the Orient, and as one closely related to Hebrew, will naturally have its place in all the schools. Nor is there any intention to prohibit the instruction of Arabs by means of Arabic, if they so desire.

The Basis of Social Justice

The ideal of social justice in Palestine is based on a simple Biblical conception, that of Palestine as the holy land, which is only lent to us to administer it.

"The land is Mine," saith the Lord.

"And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is Mine; for ye are strangers and settlers with Me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land." (Leviticus, XXV, 23, 24).

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"Woe unto them that join house to house,
That lay field to field,
Till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell
Alone in the midst of the land!" (Isaiah, V, 8.)
"Therefore, because ye trample upon the poor,
And take from him exactions of wheat,
Ye have built houses of hewn stone,
But ye shall not dwell in them,
Ye have planted pleasant vineyards,
But ye shall not drink the wine thereof." (Amos, V, 11.)

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CHAPTER XXI

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE*

A General Survey

When we speak of a country, we are primarily concerned with the inhabitants, those who actually live in it, have lived in it, or will live in it. It needs no special argumentation that the interest of Palestine for us lies in the fact that it formerly was the home of the Jews, and that it will again become so, indeed, is becoming so. But it is a truism among historians that a people are—at least in part—what the country they live in makes them. Its position on the surface of the earth, its physical features, its distribution of land and water, its rocks and its soil and the things dug therefrom or planted therein, the winds that blow over it, all these facts are not merely useful as bits of general information, but are vitally necessary for us to know, if we wish to understand what manner of men dwell in the country, what they may be able to accomplish, and what things are denied to them.

The Climate

Palestine is a sub-tropical country. That means, for practical purposes, that Palestine is somewhat hotter than New York, but it is not nearly as hot as a tropical country, Central Africa, for instance, or Southern India. There are indeed parts of Palestine—the Jordan valley, e. g., where the river enters the Dead Sea—which in climate, in fauna and flora, are very much like fully tropical regions, but in the main Palestine has a climate much resembling that of our Southern states.

The first great effect of such a climate is that though life in the open air is a necessity, it has dangers of its own. At certain seasons and certain hours, almost everywhere, practically all the inhabitants are in the open air, though it is not always in the streets or in public places. It cannot be there, for the simple reason that shade is as necessary as air. For several thousands of years the Palestinian has found a means of securing shade and air in his house by the simple methods of utilizing inner courts and the flat roofs of the houses.

* By Dr. Max Radin.

The Water Supply

Palestine, in the parts that are most associated with the Jews, is poorly watered. It is not arid. We must not imagine that any part of Palestine proper, except in the most southerly section, presents anything like the appearance of a desert. Nor is the lack of water serious enough to constitute a real detriment to the physical well-being of the inhabitants, but rain is infrequent except at certain definite times of the year. The water supply must be carefully husbanded and wisely distributed. It will admit of neither waste nor profusion. Centuries of wretched mismanagement have largely contributed to the poverty of the present water supply, and we have every right to believe that a reasonably competent administration will work something like a revolution in that particular respect.

Vegetation

The effect of the condition just described on the land is the relative absence of trees, especially large ones. Trees are more or less plentiful in the north, although even here much less numerous than in the United States. But in Judaea and the section just north of it, trees of any kind are a rarity. But if trees are scarce, there is an abundant growth of other things. On the plains and some of the hillsides, the meadows are alive with flowers, and the variety is as bewildering as the display is dazzling. There are few more gorgeous displays on the face of the earth than the Spring investiture of the plains of Sharon. And even where the hues are less alluring there is no lack of green shrubbery, bearing constant witness to the readiness of the soil to do its part, if man will do his.

Boundaries

There is a general resemblance between the map of Palestine and the map of the State of New Hampshire. It is a four-sided—perhaps five-sided—figure, of which one side tilts northeast and of which the upper part is markedly narrower than the lower. Just what its boundaries are is not easy to determine.

There is one boundary of Palestine that cannot readily be disputed and that is the western boundary. That is the Mediterranean Sea. The southern coast of Asia Minor and the northern coast of Egypt and Sinai make almost right angles with a line running north and south and marking the eastern limit of the Mediterranean. One-fourth of this line is the western boundary of Palestine. At the extreme south of it is the little village of Rapha, now an important

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station on the railroad that made Allenby's campaign possible. It is the south-westerly point of the boundaries of Palestine.

And now for its northern limit: Considerably to the south of Beirut, which before the war was fast becoming one of the great cities of the East, between the ancient Sidon and Tyre, we come to the mouth of a river. It is called the Nahr el-Khasimiyeh, and at least for part of its course it is called the Litany, a name that perpetuates its ancient designation, the Leontes (not the Orontes, as some maps mistakably put it). That Palestine, on its western border, goes as far north as this, will not be seriously gainsaid, and for the present we shall rest content with that.

This coast, from Rapha to the Khasimiyeh is practically straight, until we come to Haifa, the Bay of Akko or Acre, the first step in the "Syrian Stair". The straight shore line is, of course, a geographic fact of the first importance. It means, with the exception noted, that there are no harbors. It is true that the absence of harbors can be partially overcome by the erection of artificial moles and breakwaters, but they will not permit the creation of ports that can seriously compete with those in the vicinity that have good natural harbors. So we shall have to omit from our calculations the making of even Haifa into a port that shall, at least under conditions that are not likely to change for a long time, outdistance Beirut or Alexandria or Port Said. However, at Haifa there is the promise that a harbor can at least be created by competent engineering (it is in a very inchoate state at present), which will be adequate for a certain part of the commerce that we are confident will be developed.

Accepting the Khasimiyeh as the northern boundary—and it is a deep and impressive stream for that region—we may follow it till it abruptly bends to the north, not very far from the Jewish settlement of Metulah. Taking a line from there, due east, we shall have a northern boundary that we are not likely to see challenged.

After we cross the Jordan we shall not go far before we strike the great Hedjaz railroad, running between Damascus and Medina. It runs through what is a desert only in the sense that it has been deserted by man. It was not always a desert and need not be so. Somewhere near the railroad to the east or the west will run the eastern boundary of Palestine, perhaps as far as Ma'an, which is an important station. That would permit us to constitute the southern boundary by running a straight line from Ma'an to Akabah on the gulf of that name, and from there, almost at right angles to Rapha on the Mediterranean, from which we started.

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The line from Rapha to Akabah is the official limit of the Sultanate of Egypt. That cuts off from Palestine the whole of the Sinai peninsula and even the "River of Egypt" (the Wadi-el-Arish), which in ancient times were usually taken as the southern boundary of Israelitish pretensions. Except for the historic connections with Sinai (if the Jebel Musa is the historic Sinai; and the matter is not free from doubt), the loss of Sinai is not to be too keenly regretted. It might, however, be well to recall in passing, that it was precisely in this Sinaitic peninsula that Lord Cromer hoped to establish a Jewish community. (See Ch. X.)

This, then, is the rough outline of Palestine: from Rapha on the Mediterranean north to the mouth of the Nahr el Khasimiyeh, thence due east to near the Hedjaz Railroad; from there south to a point at or near Ma'an; from there southwest to the Gulf of Akabah and again northwest back to Rapha. This makes a five-sided figure, of which the longest side is about 180 or 200 miles and the shortest side cannot be more than 60 and may be much less than that. We may say that roughly it equals either Massachusetts alone, or Massachusetts and Connecticut combined.

The Maritime Plain

What sort of land is there in this irregular pentagon? It divides itself quite naturally into a number of longitudinal strips. Beginning again at Rapha and following the coast we have the Maritime Plain. We have first the ancient Philistia, so long a thorn in the side of Israel and Judah, which continues into the Plain of Sharon, and after being interrupted by Mt. Carmel, is continued into Phoenicia.

This maritime plain, which varies in width from 200 feet at the Bay of Acre, to 30 miles below Jaffa, is of remarkable fertility. Most of the Jewish villages are located here. In ancient times this plain was notable not merely for the intrinsic value of the soil, but chiefly as the great route from the North into Egypt. The hosts of forgotten nations rolled along here to and from the granary of the Nile, and kept so close to the shore that to many of them the very existence of such cities as Jerusalem may well have been unknown. The southern portion of it, seized by Cretan pirates, became under the Philistines the domain of a confederation of cities that achieved little of permanent value, but are remembered chiefly for having given Palestine its name, and for having given Israel that discipline of struggle and adversity from which alone significant nations arise.

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North of Mt. Carmel was the region occupied by the earliest Semitic invasion of Canaan, that of the Phoenicians. The great group of Phoenician cities performed such notable functions in the spread of civilized arts that the petty little villages that alone recall the glories of Tyre and Sidon are melancholy reminders of the most commonplace of historical truisms. This section of the maritime plain was never a part of Jewish or Israelitish dominion and its inclusion in modern Palestine is due simply to considerations of geography.

The Maritime Plain is cut in two by Mt. Carmel, which juts into the sea from the highlands of Samaria to the Bay of Haifa. That ancient river, the River Kishon, flows into the bay past Mt. Carmel. And just north of Mt. Carmel the great plain of the sea is continued into the broad valley of Esdraelon, straight to the Jordan. All that can be said of the fertility and economic importance of the coast plain can be repeated and emphasized of Esdraelon. Even in the last years of the Turkish nightmare, it was producing great quantities of wheat as well as fruits and vegetables. What it will do under happier conditions may be confidently predicted.

The Shephela

The second of the longitudinal strips which constitute Palestine consists of a series of low limestone hills. In the south they form the Shephela, in which the date and olive flourish and in which the coarser forms of grain will readily thrive. North of Samaria these hills are interrupted by the Plain of Esdraelon and do not form so recognizable a feature of the land.

The Western Mountain Range

It is the next strip, the Western Mountain Range, that has seen the major part of Jewish history. And it is precisely with the most forbidding and least fertile section, the mountains of Judaea, that our holiest memories are associated. The Jews were mountaineers, highlanders. If the bare limestone of their native soil offered them but a niggardly subsistence, it put no obstacle in the way of that vastly higher development to which alone the Jews owe their survival and their national individuality. Among its hills stands the symbol and crown of their greatness, the Holy City of Jerusalem. Judaea is a stony plateau wholly without running water, but none the less capable of a certain cultivation, principally of olive and barley. The pasturing of flocks—in ancient times an important occupation—is almost precluded by modern conditions. Pasturing demands larger stretches of land than an intensively organized Palestine can afford.

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The plateau of Judaea, after a slight depression, is almost continuous with the highlands of Samaria, the Mount of Ephraim of the Bible. Here, however, a number of fertile valleys give the country a wholly different aspect. One of these contains both Schechem and Samaria, the capitals of Israel and sites of undoubted importance for future development.

As we cross Esdraelon again to enter the highlands of Galilee, it is in a wholly different region that we find ourselves. There are hills covered with thick shrubbery which might well be trees. Are not the cedars of Lebanon not far off? These hills of Galilee as well as the valleys below them were once thickly populated. Their fertility is apparent from the fact that even gross neglect has not impaired their productivity. And if Galilee is made to become again a land dotted with thriving towns, there will rest a certain responsibility upon the organizers of these towns, that increase in well-being shall not, as in the days of old, be deemed a reason for a relative neglect of spiritual growth.

The Jordan Valley

To the east, the hills of Galilee, of Samaria, and of Judaea, fall rapidly into the Jordan Valley, which has been denominated "the deepest trench on the surface of the earth." Beginning far north on the slopes of Mt. Hermon, the headwaters of the Jordan gather into sizable streams, and at the site of the ancient Dan already form a river to be reckoned with. It flows due south, as the bird flies, for a distance of 110 miles. It flows at very nearly the level of the sea till we reach Lake Huleh (or Merom), the smallest and most northerly of the three lakes through which the Jordan runs. Then the bed sinks rapidly, as the temperature of the valley rises, until at about the northern half of Esdraelon we reach the sea of Gennesaret (Lake of Tiberias, Kinneret, Sea of Galilee), 680 feet below the level of the sea, in a warm fertile valley capable of indefinite fruit production. The lake is about 70 square miles in size. It abounds in many sorts of fish.

When the Jordan leaves Gennesaret, it descends deeper and deeper through the deep cleft called the Ghor to the Dead Sea, nearly 1,300 feet below the surface of the sea. This body of intensely salt water, 400 square miles in size, is one of the most famous of natural phenomena. Yet in spite of its fame—for it has excited the interest and curiosity of strangers for much more than three thousand years—sections of the shore are only slightly known. Until recently the southern part of its eastern region was distinctly unsafe. Besides

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the luxuriant fertility of the entire Ghor, it will afford an admirable field for thorough scientific research.

Transjordania

As far as sheer richness of soil is concerned, the West-Jordan territory must yield to that across the Jordan, into which neglect and maladministration have allowed the desert to creep almost to the Jordan valley. Beginning at Mt. Hermon—the anti-Lebanon—we come to the highlands of Iturea, famous in Roman times for the sturdy soldiers that it bred. Below Iturea is Bashan, equally famous for its forests of oaks and its magnificent cattle. Very few of the oaks are left. Particularly the plains are almost entirely devoid of trees. But there is everywhere unmistakable proof that this is due to man's improvidence and may be remedied.

Iturea and Bashan as well as Golan, right at the Jordan, form part of the region which in its entirety is called Hauran. The southern boundary of Hauran is at the River Yarmuk, a rapid and perennial river just below Gennesaret. The soil of the whole of Hauran is of volcanic origin and, as in all such cases, of remarkable fertility.

The wheat of Hauran in variety and quality is famous throughout the East. It was and will doubtless again become one of the granaries of Syria.

Further than that, the climate of Hauran, with its even, moderate days and cool nights, is of singular amenity. In Greek and Roman times the region just below the Yarmuk, which is of much the same character as Hauran itself, was the seat of the city-federation known as the Decapolis. Magnificent ruins attest their past prosperity. With modern means of communication and a modicum of pioneer effort, there is practically no limit to the possibilities of this land. In a very real sense the wilderness will rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Between the Yarmuk and the vigorous stream of the Yabbok, about forty miles further south, at about the line of Samaria, lies Gilead. Gilead is a series of limestone hills. Its climate is like that of Hauran, fresh and even, and its fertility almost as exuberant. In marked contrast with most of western Palestine, trees are fairly numerous, and the country is lined with streams that could be admirably used for irrigation, as indeed is the case with both the Yarmuk and the Yabbok themselves.

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Below the Yabbok begin the ancient lands of Israel's hereditary enemies and kinsmen, Ammon and Moab. This is a high wind-swept plateau of gray limestone, bearing wheat and abundant pasture. Though it seems difficult to associate severe winters with Palestine, the winters of Moab are somewhat too rigorous. The Eastern Plateau has an average elevation of 2,000 feet.

At present Moab and Ammon are among the most sparsely inhabited parts of the country. That is due to the fact that these regions run imperceptibly into the desert and are open on two sides to Bedouin raids. Only a vigorous government, that has no such interest as the Turks had in perpetuating tribal feuds, can remedy that situation.

The country to the south of the Dead Sea is little known. It has rarely been visited because of the insecurity of the trip, although it contains such famous ruins as those of Petra. There can be no doubt, however, that here we are in practically a real desert country. Doubtless land can be reclaimed here, particularly for pasture purposes, and irrigation is distinctly feasible. If Akabah becomes an important port, the rise of the economic value of the whole section is assured.

The Negeb

As we swing west again, or rather northwest, we reach Rapha over the Arabah, the ancient Negeb or Parched Land, as it should be correctly rendered. The country is almost waterless, except that in the short rainy season the dry and deep gullies, still called Wadis, suddenly swell into torrents and waste their priceless moisture in the thirsty soil. A proper husbanding of this overflow will enable newer settlers to utilize even this uninviting section, as it seems it was utilized in Byzantine times.

This sudden filling of the gullies, dry for the greater part of the year, gives life to the exultant simile of the *Shir Hamaalot*, that Song of Ascents (Psalm 126), sung in countless Jewish homes on Friday evening. "Turn again our captivity, O Lord, like the streams in the Negeb." We can readily imagine with what a sense of an annual miracle this rapid change from arid waste to abundance impressed the ancient dwellers. Just as they accepted it for an omen for themselves, those who look forward to a new turning of the captivity may equally take as the type and model of their renewed life the streams of the Negeb, the turning of a land parched by human neglect and wilful misuse into one of exuberant and living productiveness.

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Subjects for Papers:

The geology of Palestine. Variations of climate in Palestine, and their effects upon industry and agriculture. Palestine and California, a comparison.

CHAPTER XXII

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE*

Some Economic Notes

The Fertility of the Land

Unfortunately, the seeker after information regarding Palestine is likely to be met by conflicting statements; for the literature on Palestine, both Gentile and Jewish, is so colored by sentiment as to be largely unreliable. According to one writer Palestine is a barren desert; another describes it in the Biblical locution as "flowing with milk and honey."

In reality Palestine is neither of these things. Parts of it are unusually fertile, other parts, hopelessly barren to the unpractised eye of the layman, may be rendered arable by means of fertilizing and irrigating. Like the people who claim it as its heritage, the soil of Palestine has undergone centuries of ill-usage, and it will take much time and effort to restore it to its maximum of productivity. If, under a benevolent and farsighted government, a proper equilibrium is established between husbandry, industry and commerce, Palestine can undoubtedly be made an eminently livable land, accommodating from four to five million inhabitants, each thriving under his own vine and fig tree.

Harbors

The coast line of Syria, and particularly of Palestine, is undeviating. South of Beirut, it does not offer any natural harbors. The promontory of Mt. Carmel forms a shelter which promises the possibility of development into a good harbor, as do also in a lesser degree Sidon, Athlit, Jaffa, Askalon and Gaza, although considerable ingenuity and expense will be needed, for instance, in order to render harmless the reefs outside of Jaffa. Nothing but ruins remain of the historic harbors of Tyre, Artuf, Caesarea, etc.

Hydrography

Western Palestine is poor in rivers, having but few transverse

* By Nellie Straus.

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perennial streams, the Aujeh north of Jaffa, the Kishon near Haifa, etc., all flowing into the Mediterranean. Besides these there are a number of wadis (winter streams) flowing both east and west of the watershed. Transjordania has three rivers; the Yarmuk and the Jabbok flow into the Jordan, the Arnon into the Dead Sea.

The most important tributaries of the Yarmuk are the Allan and the Ehreir, both of them long and rapid streams. The rivers of Palestine are not navigable, being either too shallow or else too rapid in their course. The Jordan has both defects, possessing seventeen fords and falling about 436 metres between the Lake of Merom and the Dead Sea.

An important feature of Palestinian hydrography is the springs and fountains which play throughout the year. These are to be found chiefly in the foothills of Mt. Hermon and in the Galilean and Samaritan mountains. In some cases the fountains form considerable pools and even streams which run a short course. Besides, Palestine, which in parts seems arid on the surface, possesses a rich store of water in its depths which can easily be brought to the surface by means of wells. Along the coastal plain, water is to be found at a depth corresponding to sea level. Pumping stations for irrigation purposes have been established in several of the Jewish villages.

Climate

No other territory of the same size has so varied a climate as Palestine. This variety of climate has brought about not only an extraordinary diversity of animal and plant life, but to it is undoubtedly to be attributed the versatility of temperament which distinguishes the children of Israel. The glowing heat of the Dead Sea region, the milder warmth of the coastal plain, the sub-Alpine climate of Upper Galilee where the white head of Lebanon is always visible—all these are, according to American ideas, almost within commuting distance of one another. The mean annual temperature is 75 degrees F. in the Jordan valley, 69 degrees F. in the coastal plain, 61 degrees F. in the mountain regions. Throughout Palestine, and especially in Transjordania, there are tremendous variations of temperature from day to night.

Frost never appears in the Jordan valley, and rarely in the coastal plain, but it is frequent in the mountain ranges. Even as far south as Jerusalem there is a light snowfall from time to time.

There are two seasons in Palestine, the summer or dry season lasting from April through October, and the winter or rainy season.

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The autumn rains usually begin in the middle of November and last three or four weeks; the winter rains fall during January and February, and the spring rains from the middle of March to the end of April. The rainfall, which varies greatly from one year to the other, ranges from about 400 mm. in the south of the coastal plain (Gaza) to 610 mm. in Haifa. It is greater in the mountain ranges (660 mm. in Jerusalem), but much smaller in the Jordan valley (200 mm. in Jericho). During the dry season a heavy dew falls in the coastal plain and the mountain districts.

The prevailing wind is from the southwest. In spring and fall the hot sirocco (*Hamsin*) blows from the Arabian desert.

The fertility of Palestine, especially the water supply, has been modified by the destruction of the forests, which have not only been hewn down for fuel by the natives, but left to the mercy of those enemies of underbrush and saplings, sheep and goats. (We know from history of the extensive oak forests which once covered the Plain of Sharon.) This absence of trees is also responsible for the inland march of the sand. The coast is now covered with shifting sand dunes which did not exist there in ancient times.

Health

Palestine is emphatically a healthful land. What diseases are prevalent, malaria, trachoma and epidemics of various kinds are the result of three causes, respectively: the marshes, which, as the Jewish settlers have proved, can be drained within a short time; ignorance of hygiene and malnutrition of the population; and the indiscriminate admission of pilgrims affected with cholera, the plague, etc.

Character of the Soil

The soil of Palestine is composed of disintegrated limestone, except in Northern Transjordan, where the basalt formation is covered by a thick layer of disintegrated lava of unusual fertility. In Western Palestine the soil is deep on the coastal plain, in the Jordan valley, and in the transverse valleys, but shallow in the mountain districts (25-50 cm.), as it is washed down the slopes by the heavy rains. The soil of the mountain districts is coarse-grained and porous, that of the plains either rich in clay and not porous, or else sandy. The sand from the coast is incessantly blown inland by the west wind, and forms dunes which are partly responsible for the marshes along the coastal plain. (The dunes block the winter streams in their seaward course.)

PALESTINE

Scale in Miles
5 0 5 10

LEGEND

- Migdal JEWISH COLONIES
- +—+— Railroads
- Roads
- Rivers
- - - Wadis



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Transportation

Another cause for the retarded development of the country was the lack of transportation facilities, which made it useless to produce perishable food-stuffs anywhere but in the immediate vicinity of the cities, and which was fatally prejudicial to the growth of industry. Up to the period of the war Palestine had few roads and fewer railroads. The roads were so neglected as to render transportation by wagon impossible. An exception to this rule was formed by the roads connecting the Jewish villages near Jaffa.

Thanks to military activities, it seems that the country has now been covered by a network of excellent roads, which lend themselves to wagon and motor traffic. Similarly, the railroad system, which up to 1914 consisted of:

1. The Jaffa-Jerusalem line, built by a French company in 1892;
2. The parts of the Hedjaz line (the railway built for the Moslem pilgrims, connecting Damascus with Medina and Mecca) falling within Palestine, namely: Damascus-Dera'a-Ma'an, Haifa-Der'a-Bosrah, Haifa-Acre, Haifa-Afuleh (Afuleh being an Arabian village adjoining the Jewish village Merhaviah in the Plain of Esdraelon), has been greatly amplified both by the Turkish (under German tutelage) and the British military forces. In 1916 the Turks had extended the Western Palestinian line from Afuleh to Jenin and Massudiyeh, and from the latter to Lydda and Nablus (Shechem). Further south Wadi Serar had been connected up with Beersheba and Hafir. We know that the British have built a railroad between Port Said and Jaffa, which is probably to have ramifications to the east. It is to be assumed that with the conclusion of the war, the problem of communication by road and rail will be solved. As far as steamship traffic is concerned, before the war, the Syrian ports, especially Alexandretta and Beirut (and in a smaller measure Jaffa) were visited by a large number of vessels, from other parts of Turkey, from Russia, Greece, Austria, Italy, France, Germany, England, Egypt, India, etc. Whatever are the resources, or, rather, the latent possibilities of Palestine, it behooves us to envisage them neither from the point of view of the philanthropist nor of the individual settler, but, in so far as it lies in our power, as economists and statesmen.

References:

Same as Ch. XXI.

Subjects for Papers:

Possibilities of dry farming. The place of Palestine on the world map.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE JEWS IN PALESTINE THROUGHOUT HISTORY*

The Jews lost Palestine. They were scattered to the four corners of the earth. And so we naturally think of Palestine as losing the Jews too. In fact Palestine never lost all of her Jews. Throughout every period of history there have been some Jews in Palestine. However, since the dispersion Palestine, which has always occupied a central position in Jewish spiritual life, has been far less important in a material sense to the actual development of the Jewish people than have some of the other lands of their sojourn; so it would be out of proportion, to give fully that history here. But the most general facts should be noted.

In Biblical Times

The earliest Hebraic association with Palestine is that of the Patriarch Abraham. This ancient linking of Israel's hope with Palestine finds historic fulfillment in actual possession under Joshua after the Exodus from Egypt, probably about the year 1455 B. C. E. At that time and for some time thereafter the Jews were no doubt a minority in the land struggling with a hostile and preponderant population. Under the Judges, they were at certain periods actually subject to some of these peoples, and they suffered also from numerous raids from the Midianites, the roving tribes east of the Jordan, forefathers no doubt of the still marauding *Bedouin* tribes of today. That the Children of Israel at all maintained themselves and finally became a majority in the land was due to the division and mutual hostility of their neighbors and to the unity of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The defeat of the Jews whenever they deserted God for the idols of their neighbors, and their interpretation of their history in this sense, as evidenced throughout the Bible, is a fact of profound political as well as moral significance. The unity of God implied the unity of Israel. Thus their faith became their strongest weapon of defence and offence. Under the Kings David and Solomon that spirit of unity was crystallized in the Temple at Jerusalem to which all Israel was commanded

* Adapted from an article by Lotta Levensohn.

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to go up for sacrifice and worship. At that time also the mountain stronghold of Jerusalem came to be the center of a powerful kingdom, including at one time even Damascus in the north and Akaba on the Red Sea, which practically unified Palestine, sweeping away the Philistine from the coast and gaining a strong foothold east of the Jordan. That kingdom in its unified strength lasted for barely two generations. Political existence in Palestine was at all times difficult, for the following reasons: (1) It was practically an oasis between two deserts, east and south, open to continuous marauding attacks from the nomad peoples of the wilderness. (2) It lay on the highway between powerful empires in Egypt and Mesopotamia, so that it became their inevitable battle-ground and was likely to fall prey to either. (3) It was inhabited by a medley of tribes thrown over it by successive waves of migration. (4) Its great variety of climate and conformation made unified control difficult. Most of these difficulties were due to its unique and remarkable position at the juncture of three continents. These difficulties, too, developed the marvelous political insight of the Jewish teachers, exemplified especially in the statesmanlike utterances of the Prophets. (See Ch. IV.) This political insight transcends the political vision of all succeeding ages. And it was violation of the laws laid down for national guidance which caused the final overthrow of the Israelitish nation in about 722 B. C. E. The nation was divided in two parts, due to the oppressive kingship of Judah, its southern portion. The division of worship caused thereby undermined the morale especially of Israel, the northern portion, which could not worship at the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Idol worship reappeared in force. The armies of Assyria and Babylonia swept over the weakened and divided nation, and found only divided resistance. The northern kingdom, which fell first, utterly disappeared. But the southern kingdom, which had Jerusalem, the Temple and the faith of God in its midst, resisted destruction even in exile in Babylonia. The Prophetic voice recalled it to its unique political role. Isaiah's teaching of its spiritual role among the nations no doubt saved Judah from the fate of the Ten Tribes. Although in 586 B. C. E. the Temple was despoiled and Jerusalem laid waste, the Jews after seventy years returned to Jerusalem and rebuilt the Temple at the behest of Cyrus, the Persian King who repatriated them.

Under Persia, Greece, and Rome

Chastened by suffering, they set up a religious or moral commonwealth which flourished for several centuries under Persian suzerainty.

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During this time the Bible took its final form. Jewish communities began to grow up in many parts of the world, who all, however, looked to Jerusalem and the Temple as their center, and who for centuries yearly collected the *shekel* or poll tax that was sent by Jews from all parts of the world for the upkeep of the Temple. True for that period to its ideals of democratic autonomy, the little nation in Palestine needed no further independence, and the transfer of power from Persia to the Greece of Alexander seems not greatly to have affected Jewish conditions there. However, after the death of Alexander, his Syrian minions, more Greek than the Greeks, tried to force Hellenistic *Kultur* on all the peoples of Syria. It was then that they met first the passive and later the active resistance of the greater part of the Jewish nation, whose religious freedom was assailed by the assault on customs, ceremonies and forms of worship that were bound up with the whole life of the Jewish polity. The indestructability of Jewish nationalism lies in the fact that it is a faith. After the Maccabaeen revolt (168 B. C. E.) had ended gloriously for the Jews, a Jewish kingdom was again set up in Palestine. (For warnings against kingship, see Judges 8:22, 23 and Samuel I, 10: 17-19 and 12: 6-15 and 19-22.) That kingdom of the Hasmoneans and the Herods did not long keep the noble spirit of the Maccabaeans, but degenerated into an Oriental monarchy, splendid and despotic. However, the kernel of the Jewish people remained true. The Pharisees, as against the priestly and military classes, carried forward in their own way the traditions of Prophet and Scribe; that is, of a leadership of ability and election, not of heredity. Palestine was overrun and shot through by strands of many civilizations and peoples. Greek culture lived side by side with the Jewish, and Rome gradually dominated the land and sapped Jewish political independence. Finally came Jewish revolt, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple and in 70 C. E. the complete overthrow of Judaea by the Romans. But though the Jews were defeated, they were not conquered. The heart of Jewish life, the school and the court of religious legislation (*Sanhedrin*), were transferred by Yohanan ben Zakkai, one of the Pharisaic teachers, from the ruined temple at Jerusalem to the little coast town of Yavneh. This was done with the permission of the conqueror Titus, who could not have dreamed that he was releasing a force stronger than his invincible legions. The school at Yavneh saved the Jewish people. Around it gathered scholars and disciples. The Palestinian schools for many generations amplified and expounded the Oral Law, that body of interpretation and rulings that had grown up around the Bible or Written Law. Judah I, about

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189 C. E. codified this Oral Law in the *Mishnah*, written down at last, to save it in case all the scholars should be slain. Such was the danger to Jewish life in Palestine. During the next 200 years, this *Mishnah* was further interpreted, and around it grew up the Jerusalem Talmud, which ranks far below the Babylonian Talmud. The lot of the Jews in Palestine at that time was not conducive to great intellectual achievement.

The first six centuries of the Common Era in Palestine were punctuated by a series of Jewish rebellions against the might of Rome. The most important of these, and one that seemed for awhile to promise Jewish triumph, was led by Bar Kochba in 132 C. E., who recaptured Jerusalem and made Judaea independent for two years. He was hailed by Rabbi Akiba as the Messiah. But, after a desperate defense Bar Kochba was defeated and slain by the overwhelming might of Rome, and the Jewish lot became harder than ever. Jerusalem was razed; Jews were forbidden to approach it; and on its site rose a Roman city called Aelia Capitolina. At this time the Jewish Christians first turned sharply against the Jews, refusing to support the revolt and even acting as informers. It now happened, too, that Rome realized the national significance of the study of the Law and made it a capital offence. Akiba, among others, died a martyr to this oppression of the study of *Torah*. Each unsuccessful rebellion left the Jews in a more pitiable state.

Under the Byzantian Empire

In 324, the Roman Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity, and Palestine fell under the shadow of the Cross. Palestine now became a land of Christian pilgrimages, of churches, nunneries, hermitages. Fanaticism was preached, and the Jews were its constant prey. The Patriarchate—which was a Rabbinic succession of Jewish teachers in Palestine who were accepted practically as rulers and judges by the Jews—came to an end in 425, under the reign of Theodosius I, Emperor of the East. Under Byzantian rule, for over 200 years, the Jews suffered great oppression, which was only intensified by their occasional unsuccessful rebellions. Under Christian rule the strictest of Roman anti-Jewish edicts were revived and surpassed. As under the Roman Hadrian, Jews were again forbidden to enter Jerusalem.

Under Islam

Islam, the second great religion to spring from Judaism, had its origin in Arabia. From there it swept over the Eastern world, by means of the sword, and in 633 Palestine too came under its sway. In principle, Islam greatly restricted the freedom of both Jews and Chris-

tians, but in practice the rule of the Caliph Omar was a boon to the Jews. About 684, the Mosque of Omar was erected in Jerusalem on the Temple site. For 200 years Palestine had rest and quiet under the Damascus Caliphate and later under the rule of Moslem Egypt. The population of Palestine was compounded of many peoples, Christian, Moslem, and Jewish. There was much flux because of the central position of the land. In the eleventh century a group of Jews from Germany came to find refuge in Palestine under liberal Moslem rule, and for a while Jerusalem became once more famous as a seat of Jewish learning.

The Latin Kingdom—The Crusades

But the Crusades ended that happy interval. The first Crusade deluged Europe with Jewish blood before ever these Christian "redeemers" neared the soil of the Holy Land. In 1099 Jerusalem was taken from the Moslems by Godfrey de Bouillon, who founded the Latin Kingdom. He celebrated by a massacre of Moslems and by burning all the Jews of Jerusalem alive in a synagogue. After a time, however, a stable government was set up, the country was irrigated and became fruitful and beautiful as in its happiest days, and industry and commerce flourished to such an extent that Palestine became a commercial center for Europe, Asia, and Africa. Then, the cosmopolitan life of the country did away with much of the Christian fanaticism against the Jews. Jewish artisans, merchants, and physicians prospered. Jewish pilgrims again came to their land, among them, in the twelfth century, Judah Halevi, the great Hebrew poet of Spain, Maimonides, most renowned of Jewish philosophers, and the noted traveler, Benjamin of Tudela.

The Moslems Again

With the end of the twelfth century, the Moslems under the Saracen Saladin overthrew Christian rule, and after a century of struggle Palestine again prospered. It was a comparatively happy time for the Jews. As early as 1267 the famous Spanish Jewish scholar Nahmanides re-established a Jewish community in Palestine. He introduced the study of the *Kabbalah*. Later followed a migration of Jews from the Rhine. Under Egyptian Moslem rule in the fourteenth century, the Jews found shelter and freedom when church-ridden Europe persecuted them. The country flourished. Jewish pilgrims and immigrants abounded. Commerce and industry prospered. Jerusalem and Hebron had wealthy and cultured Jewish communities, and there were even shepherd communities in southern Palestine.

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However, the religious and spiritual leadership of Jewry remained in the Diaspora. It passed from Babylon to Spain, and later to Poland.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in 1492, resulted in a large Jewish migration to Palestine, where Sultan Bejazet welcomed the immigrants. Many settled in Jerusalem and Safed, the latter becoming a famous center of Kabbalistic study.

Under the Turk

In 1516 Palestine passed to the sovereignty of Constantinople and the Turk. This rather improved the political status of the Jews. Joseph Nassi, a wealthy and cultured Spanish exile, was confidential adviser to the Sultan Suleiman, who made him Duke of Naxos. For a time a revival of Jewish colonization seemed possible. However, later, Turkish rule degenerated; it became incompetent and corrupt; and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Jews sank into a slough of poverty and dependency. The whole land degenerated economically. Those Jews who were artisans could find little work, and the majority, meagrely supported by charity from abroad, devoted their time to study.

Revival of European Interest in Palestine

The invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1798, was an episode that had no lasting effect upon the country. So, too, the political bickerings of Turkey and Egypt during the early part of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century saw a revival of interest in Palestine on the part of Christians as well as Jews. Missionaries came from the West; pilgrims from Russia flocked every Eastertide to the Holy Land. The Greek and Latin churches established headquarters in Jerusalem. The quarrels among Christian sects became so scandalous that the Sultan was forced to install a Turkish guard to keep the peace in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

National political rivalries were the inspiration of a number of apparently religious foundations. France for a time regarded herself as the protector of all Roman Catholics in Palestine of whatever nationality.

The year 1840 saw a horrible revival of the blood-accusation in Damascus. The tortures endured by the Jews there aroused Christian as well as Jewish indignation in Europe, caused international political action, and brought to Palestine Adolphe Crémieux and Sir Moses Montefiore.

Jewish Organizations in Palestine

The West European Jews became actively interested in the helpless situation of the Palestinian Jews, and in the course of the nineteenth century established schools, workrooms, hospitals and other institutions. The most prominent of the organizations which worked in behalf of the old *Yishub* are the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*, the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, and the *Anglo-Jewish Association*. Their palliative efforts have not, naturally, been able to change the economic status of the Jews of the old *Yishub* (settlement).

The Halukkah

For many centuries, it has been the custom all over the Jewish world to send money for the support of students of the Law in Palestine. This pious motive, coupled with the lack of economic opportunities, has operated to build up an elaborate system of distribution of funds—the *Halukkah*—and of collection in the Diaspora by paid agents sent out from Palestine (*Meshullahim*). Many abuses have crept into the *Halukkah*. Questionable methods are used both in its collection and its distribution. Though the recipients and their families live in the extremest poverty, they have been pauperized by the unearned dole. With the revival of the country, the *Halukkah* problem as it affects the young people will drop away as soon as they attain to the dignity of self-support, which they have shown themselves eager to do whenever opportunity has afforded. The *Halukkah* for really meritorious students and their families is one of the problems of the Old *Yishub* that the New *Yishub* will have to solve.

Jewish Culture

It was obviously impossible for the Jews in Palestine, during the ages of disinheritance, even to approach the spiritual attainments of the Kingdom or of the Second Commonwealth. But despite their status (or lack of it) they did keep the lamp of Jewish learning alight in the Land, however dimly, to this day. And they did help to preserve the Hebrew language, one of the chiefest treasures of the Jewish people, until a virile nationalism arose to nourish and to foster it.

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CHAPTER XXIV

EARLY MODERN JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

The Population

In Palestine, just before the Great War, the estimated population was 700,000, of whom the great majority were Arabic-speaking Moslems. Of this population the Jews numbered about one-seventh, that is, between 100,000 and 125,000 souls. During the past century, there has been no marked increase in the general population, but the Jews increased to their present number from about 3000, in 1800. This increase was in large measure due to the impetus given by renationalization and agricultural resettlement in Palestine, which culminated in the Zionist movement. The present Jewish population of Palestine may roughly be divided in half, the one-half representing what is known as the Old Settlement or Old *Yishub*, and the other the New Settlement or New *Yishub*. The lines are not hard and fast, and fortunately they are becoming more blurred all the time. The Old Settlement consists of those Jews, settled chiefly in the "holy" cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias, who went to Palestine for religious reasons, often in old age to die in the Holy Land, and who to a large extent are supported from abroad or, even if independent, usually live in the most abject poverty. This includes all the *Halukkah* Jews. (See Ch. XXIII.) The immigration of the past century has been chiefly *Ashkenazic*—that is, of Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern or Central Europe using the Polish ritual. The bulk of the earlier population was *Sephardic*—that is, consisting of Oriental Jews using the Portuguese ritual, in large part descendants from the Spanish and Portuguese exiles, who still speak the Judeo-Spanish jargon called Ladino. At present the *Ashkenazic* Jews form about 85 per cent. of the Jewish population. In the Old *Yishub* there is a great variety of types and great disunity. Each little national group has its own synagogue and *minhag*, its own language and customs, its own jealousies and grievances. Some of the lands that are represented by their Jews in Palestine are Russia, Poland, and all the Baltic states, Bulgaria, Galicia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Hungary, Rumania, Germany, Holland, the United States, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and

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Tripoli in North Africa, Arabia, Persia, Bokhara, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Transcaucasian Doghestan, and Georgia (The Gurdji or Grusians). In the Old *Yishub*, the distinctions remain perpetuated in part by the *Halukkah*, which binds European groups financially to their respective countries. In the New *Yishub*, or the nationalist Jewish villages and city garden suburbs, the distinctions begin to be blotted out as early as in the Hebrew-speaking kindergarten. The Jewish national idea supersedes all adopted nationalities, and gives its own distinctive stamp. The New *Yishub*—new and young in its spirit—by no means consists of newcomers only; it has in some cases drawn upon the oldest *Sephardic* population as well, upon the “Turkish” Jews. Of the newcomers, comparatively few adopted Turkish citizenship, on account of the system of national capitulations which gave them the greater protection of the courts and consuls of their native countries. The Russian Jews, whose own Government did not protect them, were looked after by the representatives of the British government.

Among the most interesting of modern Jewish immigrants are the Arabian Jews from Yemen, where they claim to have lived since the first Exile, long before the present Arabic population. In about 1880 they began to suffer acute persecution, and instinctively fled to Palestine, their ancestral home. In later years their immigration was encouraged by the Zionists and directed to the Jewish villages, where they have settled in workmen’s colonies. They are a thrifty, sturdy folk, inured to hardship, learned and pious, and speaking a pure *Sephardic* Hebrew. In appearance, dress, and standard of living they resemble the Arabs.

History of Colonization—Philanthropic Period

At no time have the Jews wholly deserted the land in Palestine. Near Safed in the Arabic village of Pekiin are about twenty families of Arabized, Arabic-speaking Jews who are farmers and who claim to have lived there ever since the Second Exile. In everything but religion they seem like Arabs. The idea of Jewish repatriation through agriculture in Palestine found numerous abortive expressions during the nineteenth century. Several non-Jews were active in these attempts, among them Lawrence Oliphant, who had the support of British diplomatic circles. In 1839 Sir Moses Montefiore had an ambitious and statesmanlike scheme for resettling the Jews as agriculturists in Palestine. It failed for political reasons. The founding of the *Mikveh Israel* Agricultural School in 1870 (see Ch. XXXI) was the direct

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outgrowth of the nationalist urgings of Hirsch Kalischer. In 1873 a few Jews from Jerusalem founded the settlement of Moza just west of the city. This venture never succeeded, but never wholly failed, and even today the farm at Moza has at least the distinction of containing the cypress planted by Theodor Herzl and known as the Herzl tree, and of being a favorite excursion ground for the Jewish school children of Jerusalem who picnic there on every *Hamisha Asar Bishevat*. In 1878 a handful of Jews from Jerusalem, nationalist idealists, bought land and attempted to settle as agriculturists in Petah Tikvah, near Jaffa. They were city dwellers unused to the soil; the place was swampy, and malaria either killed or drove out all of this small group of valiant pioneers.

After 1880, European anti-Semitism and the Russian pogroms were a driving force, both physical and spiritual, toward Jewish renationalization in Palestine. The *Hibbat Zion* movement (see Ch. VIII) made strides in all countries, including America, and groups of Jews in Russia and Rumania organized themselves for Palestinian colonization. These first settlers were chiefly city dwellers. Of conditions in Palestine, its climate, its soil, the intricate Turkish land laws, or the ways and language of the Arab population they knew as little as of plowing, planting and harvesting. Very few had any capital to start with. About ninety of them were young students, members of the *Bilu* groups. (See Ch. VIII.) These young men faced unspeakable hardships and stuck to their settlements in the face of death itself. Some of them hired themselves out as day laborers to the *Mikveh Israel* School and even to the Arabs themselves at a mere pittance. Many died of malaria. Despite their grim determination, an appeal for help had to be sent to Russia. This found its way to Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Paris, who received a delegation of the settlers, and became to them and to Palestinian colonization henceforth an ever present help. He came to the rescue of the village of Rishon le-Zion (1882) with money and with agricultural instructors. So, too, he saved Petah Tikvah, which had been resettled in 1883 and was again threatened with ruin, but which has since become the most populous of the Jewish villages. His devotion to the cause rivalled that of the organized *Hoveve Zion* and of the settlers themselves. And their devotion to him has been a not unworthy repayment. He not only aided these early Russian and Roumanian settlers in the best way known to him, but he also himself undertook colonization. He at various times supported in part or in whole besides his own settlements at Ekron (1884) and Metullah (1896), Rishon le-Zion,

Petah Tikvah, Hederah (1891), Zichron Ya-acob (1882), and Yessod ha Ma-alah (1883). To drain the swamps, he planted the eucalyptus trees imported from Australia. He purchased land. He engaged administrators for the villages. And when he himself saw that this system of philanthropic management was having unwholesome consequences, he took steps to change it. For it turned out that these administrators, acting also as instructors, only added to the troubles of the settlers. The administrators seem to have distinguished themselves chiefly by mistaken judgments. By autocratic methods they fostered at the same time a spirit of dependence and of insurrection. As instructors, their failure was even more marked. They turned out to be almost as ignorant as the settlers of the peculiar needs of the land, and were forced to learn by experience. In Rishon le-Zion the Baron installed the remarkable wine-cellars which have since proved the economic bulwark of this and the neighboring villages. But an over-production of wine in the Judæan villages forced an economic crisis, since no real market existed and the Baron could not indefinitely maintain an artificial one. One of the gravest errors of the early colonization was the dependence on a single crop, which has since been practically everywhere remedied.

In the meantime, the *Hoveve Zion*, organized into the Montefiore Federation of *Hibbat Zion* groups at Kattowitz in 1884, and incorporated in Odessa in 1890 (See Ch. VIII), since when it is known as the Odessa Committee, gave all its resources to the encouragement and assistance of Jewish colonization in Palestine, assisting all of the Jewish villages and establishing new ones. It co-operated with "the Baron". Private initiative and independent colonization ventures were added to the Palestinian medley. The most hopeful of all the enterprises was the founding in 1890 of the village of Rehovot, near Jaffa. From its inception, it was independent, and it has been self-reliant and successful ever since. It was founded by a group of 55 persons with adequate capital, members of a Warsaw colonization society, *Menuha ve-Nahalat*. For a time, the land was managed jointly, and the actual owners did not go to live there until the land had been prepared by Jewish workmen and was bearing fruit. A great many Jewish workmen were employed, and were thus prepared as settlers for other villages. Rehovot produces wine, oranges, almonds and olives. The village is prosperous and nationalistic and progressive in spirit. In it, takes place each year at *Hol Moed Pesah*, the Hagigah, the joyous Jewish national festival with its outdoor games, contests and choruses.

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The Critical Period—Ahad Ha-am

With perhaps this one exception, the prospects of Jewish colonization in Palestine looked very dark in 1890. Jewish villages were scattered throughout the country; a group in Judaea between Jaffa and Jerusalem and southward from Jaffa; another group between Jaffa and Haifa in Samaria; and another group north of Carmel in Galilee, with lone outposts at Metullah in the north and at Bene Yehudah east of the Sea of Tiberias. On the whole, the northern villages raised grain and the southern ones grapes, oranges, and other fruit. Each section developed a quite distinctive local character. Besides a haphazard and philanthropic method of colonization which gave the Jewish settlement no unity or dignity, they had to contend with (1) their own ignorance of farming and of the land, (2) lack of sufficient capital, (3) unorganized immigration, (4) swamps which bred malaria, (5) lack of water and of a system of irrigation, (6) long neglect of the land, (7) the hostility, especially in the north, of the Arab population, or, more frequently, of the Bedouin or nomad Arabs, (8) the complete lack of wagon roads and of other means of communication (the railroad between Jaffa and Jerusalem was not finished until 1892), (9) lack of police protection, (10) excessive taxation—the minimum being 12½ per cent.—which did not spare even fruit trees and which had to be supplemented by graft (*Baksheesh*). Add to this, discontent among the settlers in the Rothschild villages, renewed Turkish prohibition against Russian Jewish immigration and the enforcement of an old prohibition against selling land to Jews. The Turkish laws, however stringent, were always softened by the incompetence and more especially the corruptibility of Turkish officialdom. However, at this time, 1890, the “red ticket” was instituted, every Jew entering the country receiving a red ticket which allowed him only one month’s stay. The rush of refugees from European persecution and the multiplicity of land-buying agencies had given rise to unseemly speculation and competition. If land and government offered difficulties, an added hindrance was the lack of system and unitary organization in the Jewish efforts.

Ahad Ha-am went to Palestine in 1891, in the darkest period, and again in 1893 and 1899, as representing the Odessa Committee. His sweeping criticisms and his radical advice along lines that made for political action and control—(1) to centralize land purchasing and colonization, (2) to act only with the full knowledge and approval of the Turkish Government, (3) to study land laws, to introduce diversified crops, and to give no pecuniary aid to individuals—all these recommenda-

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tions had a decided influence. Other forces were also at work to revolutionize Jewish colonization. Baron de Rothschild saw and judged the conditions. In 1900 he decided to transfer all his interests in the Palestinian Jewish villages, together with an additional fund, to the Jewish Colonization Association (I. C. A.), the Baron Maurice de Hirsch Foundation. This change of business method—the transference to an experienced and impersonal society—was an act of vision and self-denial on the part of Baron de Rothschild. The new business relation in no way abated his interest in the villages, which has continued active until this day. The most important influence on Palestine at that period was the newly created Zionist Organization, whose paramount leadership had, by 1902, been unreservedly accepted by the Odessa Committee.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH VILLAGES

Thenceforth Palestinian colonization was put on a business basis. Gradually the Jewish villages became self-supporting and acquired the dignity that goes with self-reliance. Baron de Rothschild was being repaid for his "loans", which had at first been received as gifts. In 1911 he was repaid \$90,000. In 1912 the village of Petah Tikvah, the largest of the Jewish villages, with about 3,000 inhabitants, was paying \$13,002 to the state in taxes, and taxed itself \$16,793 for communal purposes.

Zionist Methods of Colonization

The Zionist institutions at this time helped to put Jewish colonization on a sound basis. The Jewish Colonial Bank (see Ch. XI) made possible a modern system of credit. The Jewish National Fund (see Ch. XI) in some measure controlled land problems, and together with other and related land development companies, prepared the land for Jewish settlement. The Palestine Land Development Company (founded 1908) had acquired large areas of land, and subdivided it into small holdings, laid out plantations, built homes and roads, and helped new settlers to acquire estates or independent farms. It has acted in close relation with the Jewish National Fund. Its director, except during the war, has been Dr. Arthur Ruppin, director of the Palestine Bureau of the Zionist Organization (founded 1908) in Jaffa. This Palestine Bureau has as its chief business the advice and direction of Jewish immigrants, especially in matters relating to land. One of its purposes is to gather and to give information. Smaller land development companies are the *Geulah* and the *Agudat Netaim*, which also purchase land to develop and resell it.

In America was developed the *Ahoozah* idea, which has since been adopted by Zionists in Russia and Germany. Companies were formed, each in a single locality, to purchase land in Palestine for their own members and to develop the land for a period of years during which time the owners gradually paid for the property. At the end of this period, the owner either settled on his land or received an income from it. The first American *Ahoozah* village is Poriah in

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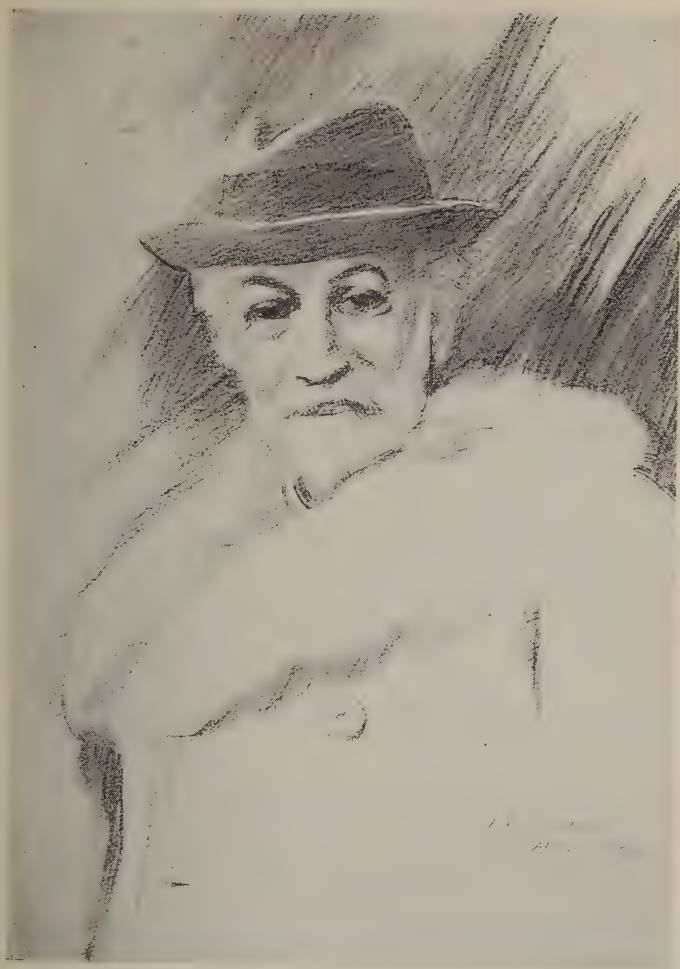
Galilee, near the Sea of Tiberias. (See Ch. XII.) The Zion Commonwealth (see Ch. XII and XX) is a development of the *Ahoozah* idea, which aims to combine economic and social control with land purchase and preparation. Its colonizing activities have not yet begun.

Co-operative Colonization

Zionism has changed the whole aspect of Jewish colonization. It has replaced philanthropy with national self-help. It is the democratic as against the philanthropic solution of the Jewish problem, and it is reflected in the whole trend and development of Jewish agricultural life in Palestine. In 1911 the Zionist Organization, which on principle had stood aloof from individualistic colonization schemes in Palestine, stepped into that field with a democratic and co-operative plan. Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, the German economist, is responsible for the ideas underlying the Erez Israel Colonization Association, an undertaking assumed by the National Fund, which is financing it through a special fund. Its purpose is to assist the organization of workmen's co-operative agricultural enterprises. There are now a number of such farm villages in operation, at Merhaviah, Deganiah, Kinneret, and Sejerah (the I. C. A. settlement), in Galilee, at Huldah, Ben Shamen, Kastinieh, and Gan Shmuel (near Hederah in the south), all of them on National Fund Property. Sejerah was recently acquired by the J. N. F. The method of applying the co-operative principle differs, but in all the aim is self-help through organization and sound economics. The pioneer settlements in Galilee have had to face many dangers, among them marauding raids from the trans-Jordanian *Bedouin*.

The Labor Problem

But co-operative workingmen's colonies cannot solve the agricultural labor problem in Palestine, which is peculiarly acute and yet full of promise. The low standard of life of the Arab laborer creates the chief difficulty. It takes a high degree of idealism to induce the Jewish farmer to employ higher priced Jewish labor when the Arabs will come for a mere pittance and can be called from the neighboring village for seasonal work, whereas the Jewish laborer is dependent on steady employment. Of course the Arab should also be employed on occasion; but nothing could be more dangerous to Jewish Palestine than to create an Arab proletariat. The villages of Rishon le-Zion, Petah Tikvah, Katrah, Zichron Ya-acob and Rehovot employ upwards of 5,000 Arab laborers. Some of these actually live in the Jewish villages,



BARON EDMOND de ROTHSCHILD

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which largely depend upon the Arab markets for milk, eggs, vegetables and garden produce.

One of the solutions attempted for this problem has been the creation of villages of Jewish workmen with their houses on plots large enough for considerable truck-gardening. The houses are gradually bought by the workmen. These villages are near such labor-employing centers as Petah Tikvah and Rishon le-Zion, which also offer the advantage of schools and other communal institutions. And the home garden, tended by the wife, ekes out the income. The Yemenite Jews make very good agricultural laborers, but the fact that they can live on very little, and so compete with the Arabs, does not solve the problem. Its solution would probably be education of the Arab and a minimum wage. (See Ch. XXVI.) Our hope lies in the high intellectual status of the Jewish agricultural laborer and in the democratic and co-operative tendencies of Jewish life. *Ha-Poel Hazair*, a workmen's organization, is strong in Palestine, and has its own Hebrew periodical. So too has the *Poale-Zion*.

The Housing Problem

Strange as it may seem, the housing problem has been an acute one in Palestine, especially when the Yemenites began to immigrate. Two thousand of them arrived in Palestine within two years (1911-1912) and were drawn to the Jewish villages as laborers. The National Fund, the Odessa Committee, and the *Ezra* of Berlin attempted to meet the situation. Barracks were put up for unmarried workers and small houses for families, which were built on the loan system. These are being gradually paid off by the workmen, who thus own their houses.

Agricultural Training

The problem of agricultural training is also gradually being solved. The Jew has perforce been a city-dweller. His return to the land requires more than enthusiasm and devotion. Besides the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station and the few agricultural schools (see Ch. XXXI), the I. C. A. has been a potent factor, with its farms, its scientifically educated supervisors, its training methods for workmen and its clear-sighted enlistment of the native Arabs, whose traditional and primitive usages nevertheless are based on thousands of years of experience and have their value. The Union of the Judæan Colonies, organized in 1909 chiefly for business and agricultural purposes, has a system of co-operation among the farmers, a

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professional journal and an expert agronomist at its head. So, too, the Jewish National Fund has a system of training for the workmen on its farms.

Jewish Agriculture

The Jews in Palestine use American farming machines and the most advanced methods, which include, of course, irrigation systems. The results justify the expectations. The yield of the Jewish farms and plantations has doubled and even tripled that of the Arabs with their primitive methods. Jews own nearly 2 per cent. of the area of Palestine, but 8 to 14 per cent. of its cultivated surface. Jewish cultivated land consists of from 175 to 200 square miles.

The Jewish Village

A brief description of the appearance of the Jewish village is necessary to complete the picture. "Its beginning is a single straight street, with houses on both sides, each house with a garden plot before it, and a row of shade trees. The houses are set rather close together for protection and to facilitate social intercourse. When the village grows, the street throws out branches to right and to left and it assumes the air of a small town. The houses are all built of stone, usually but one story high and covered with white plaster. Wood for building purposes is of course scarce in Palestine. The clustered red roofs gleam from afar in the pure Palestinian air, peering out from the surrounding orange groves, vineyards and fields. Acacia-lined walks lead from the fields up to the houses. The dominant points usually are the synagogue and the water works, and some of the villages are completely shrouded in their eucalyptus groves."

In great contrast to the Jewish villages, even at their worst—for in a few instances the Jewish villages do not come up to the usual high standard—there is the Arab village, which consists of mud hovels. The windowless Arab houses, like cliff swallows' nests, are built against the earthen quarry from which they are hewn, gray on gray. Safety demanded this protective coloring which deceived the approaching enemy. In contrast to this the Jewish village is frank and wholesome, planned for the uses of life, not merely to ward off death. In Rishon le-Zion and Petah Tikvah some of the houses are villa-like in appearance. The larger villages have their sights, such as the beautifully planted public park at Zichron Ya-acob and the Palm Garden in Rishon le-Zion. Then there are school houses, the Bet

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Ha-am or people's house, and hospitals. Occasionally there is also the Arab market, orientally picturesque, and with it, what one must call a slum district. Among the institutions that go with practically every village are a sick-visiting society, a shelter for the stranger, and a mutual loan society.

The villages are autonomous. Turkey, in spite of its many sins of omission, had also virtues of omission, among them the complete autonomy allowed to foreign settlements. All that the government demanded was that the taxes be promptly paid. In the case of Jewish villages one individual was designated to act as intermediary between the government and the Jews—the *mukhtar*—who held himself responsible, among other things, for the payment of taxes. This was an arrangement of value both to the village and to the Turkish Government. The former was saved the extortions of the tax collector, and the latter the uncertainty and inconvenience of personal collection. Each village has its *Va-ad* or town committee elected by what is almost equivalent to a town meeting. At first, only the property-owning men and women had the vote. In recent years, the workmen lacking the property qualification have also secured the vote on condition of two years' residence, but they are not eligible as members of the *Va-ad*. The *Va-ad* is at once the legislative and executive body. Its functions include the estimating and registration of property, budget-making, and the collection of taxes. In the larger villages the *Va-ad* has sub-committees for various communal purposes. Differences between individuals are settled by Jewish courts of arbitration, and it has frequently happened that Arabs too have laid their difficulties before the *Va-ad* for adjustment. These Jewish village courts have dealt only with civil cases. In the whole history of the new Jewish Palestine there has been but one single case of Jewish criminality.

As Turkey failed to provide for the most elementary communal needs, these have been provided for by the villagers themselves from their self-taxation. Among the needs that must be provided for are the *Bet Ha-am*, the school, the physician, the apothecary, the public bath—and the hospital. Roads also had to be built by the villagers, as there were practically no roads in Palestine. The only roads which the Jews found there were the Roman roads, and they were not in repair. The Arabs with their donkeys and camels prefer to travel cross-country, and the Jews have had to provide their own roads as well as their own coaches and wagons, and have often had to pay bribes for the privilege of building these roads.

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Hashomer

Until after the war the Jewish villages had not been organized into a federation except that of the Union of Judaeon Colonies, whose purposes are chiefly those of a grange. In 1903 a *Kenessiah* or conference of delegates of Palestinian Jews, was called at Zichron Ya-acob, but no permanent organization was effected. But a co-operative police system was organized in 1910 by Manya Wilbushevitch and her husband, Israel Shochat. This police force, known as *Hashomer*, is more in the nature of a Jewish guard or night watch. They are not needed for internal Jewish policing, but only for protection against depredations of the Jewish fields and vineyards by the Arabs. At first Arab watchmen were employed, but the effect was not all that could be desired. In 1910 a number of Jewish young men organized *Hashomer*. There are now over a hundred members and they have an inter-village organization. They can ride and shoot as well as the Arabs or as our Western cowboys. They are independent, belonging to the Union of *Hashomer*, and hiring themselves out individually or as a posse to the villages. There have been some clashes between the *shomerim* and the Arabs, but on the whole this group of free and self-reliant young men has won the respect of the Arab population, and so has tended to improve relations between the two peoples.

Social Life in the Villages

Social life in the villages is full and self-sufficient. In the *Bet Ha-am* there is housed the library; a number of clubs meet there; lectures and amateur theatricals are given; and there is usually an amateur orchestra or a singing society. There are also athletic societies, notably the *Maccabees*, who on all occasions of public festivity may be seen marching in their blue and white uniforms. Singing is heard everywhere. It seems the natural expression of Jewish work and play in the Jewish land. The Sabbaths and festivals have a wonderful Jewish flavor. And yet, though the community celebrates them, there is no individual compulsion. No man asks what another does indoors. Early on Friday afternoons the spirit of Sabbath descends upon the village. The children are released earlier than usual from school and the laborers hasten home from the fields several hours sooner than on other days. And the following day the place is pervaded with the Sabbath peace. Everyone is out-of-doors. On the Jewish festivals all the villagers unite in celebrating them.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH VILLAGES

The festive table is spread on the open street and choruses fill the air. It is a return to the spirit of their ancestors—to the out-of-door spirit—that is voiced in the Song of Songs.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE RELATION OF PALESTINIAN JEWS WITH OTHER PEOPLES*

The Problem Threefold

There is no problem more complex and difficult of solution than the adjustment of the relation of the Palestinian Jews to the rest of the world. In order to facilitate a discussion of this problem, let us consider separately their relation (a) to the other inhabitants of the land; (b) to the national groups adjacent to them, and (c) to the Jews of other countries.

Inhabitants of the Land

The need for the adoption of a definite attitude toward the other inhabitants of the land is urgent, for upon it rests the fate of the Jewish resettlement. Although the non-Jewish population of Palestine numbered only 600,000 at the outbreak of the war, and numbers considerably less (excepting, of course, the British forces) at present, it is composed of the most diverse elements. First of all there are the Arabs, about 500,000 in number, of whom the vast majority are Moslems. These again may be grouped into *Fellaheen* (peasants), *Bedouin* (nomads), and *half-Bedouin*, that is to say, those tribes who are sedentary during the rainy season. There are few *Bedouin* and *half-Bedouin* in Western Palestine. They are scattered chiefly on the high plain east of the Jordan, where at present there are few other inhabitants.

The Fellaheen

Ethnologists do not agree about the descent of the *Fellaheen*. The probability is that they are of the same race as the Arabs of the peninsula. But other theories have been advanced, such as their being descendants of the aborigines of the land, or perhaps, even, largely of Jewish blood. However, even if the first hypothesis is correct, there is no doubt that they have undergone a not inconsiderable modification as a result of the infusion of Arian blood, especially at the time of the Crusades and the Latin Kingdom.

* By Nellie Straus.

PALESTINIAN JEWS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES

The *Fellaheen* are for the most part farmers, even those living in the vicinity of towns. The city-dwellers are either artisans or small traders. The *Fellaheen* are primitive in their way of life, which has not undergone any perceptible change in the course of twenty centuries. They are illiterate and superstitious, clinging tenaciously to age-old habits and customs. Their wants are few, and they produce most of the necessities of life in their homes. In fact, one general store suffices for a number of villages. Each village consists of a group of huts without floors or chimneys, in which there are two rooms, the dwelling-place of the whole family, including goats and chickens. The *Fellah* is usually monogamous, because he cannot afford to pay for more than one wife. He is extremely hospitable and fond of festivals, which are held on such occasions as circumcisions, weddings, etc.

There is no reason to suppose that the Arabs of Palestine are mentally deficient or incapable of enlightenment. On the contrary, those who have been educated in mission schools have proved to possess keen intellects, worthy of their ancestral culture. They have obviously been crushed by the political and economic oppression exercised by the Turkish Government, negatively through its denying them education as well as communication and transportation facilities, and positively by a vicious system of absentee landlordism and taxation.

The Bedouin

The *Bedouin* are even more primitive and unsophisticated than the *Fellaheen*. They gain their sustenance by raising cattle, camels, goats and sheep, and by bringing their products to the markets, generally Jerusalem or Gaza, to exchange them for commodities such as coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. The honesty of the *Bedouin* is proverbial. If one of them promises to bring a certain number of camels to a given place the following spring for wares received in the fall, he will be sure to fulfill his word; in case of death his nearest of kin take the obligation upon themselves.

Relations with Jews

The relation of the Jews to the Arabs has been rather complex. In the cases where it has been bad, the fault does not rest wholly with the Arabs. It must be noted that reference is made here only to the "New Settlement" as the "old" Jews of the cities have had practically no contact with the Arabs. The settlers of the last four decades have

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made the mistake, with few exceptions, of not trying to understand the language or the psychology of the natives, and worse still, of treating them as beings of an inferior order and as usurpers of the land. It was this last-named attitude which was a source of peculiar irritation to the Arabs, and rightly so. Many cases of trouble between the Jewish patrol (*shomerim*) and the Arabs were due partly to the fact that the former were chosen from among new arrivals from Russia or Roumania, instead of from among Palestinian-born Jews. The attacks upon the Jewish villages were probably not due solely to a marauding spirit among the Arabs, but also to an envious fear of the people of superior education and economic ability who were slowly but surely gaining possession of the land. However, there are significant instances of a spirit of good-will and mutual helpfulness, which show that friction between the two groups is avoidable. The physicians of the Jewish villages have given generously of their time and energies to neighboring Arab villages, especially women physicians, who are alone permitted to treat the Moslem women. The Arabs have also availed themselves of the co-operative drug stores in the Jewish villages. In fact, health conditions in the Arab villages near the Jewish settlements have noticeably improved. The Anglo-Palestine Bank, too, has many Arab depositors and borrowers, especially among the orange planters of Jaffa. Several Arab children have been enrolled in the Jewish schools.

Labor Problem

Curiously enough, the Arabs have been the cause of internal dissension among the Jews. The Jewish settlers, in particular the planters, preferred Arab labor to Jewish because the Arab workman, with his lower standard of living, demands a lower wage. This tendency has been severely criticized by the young Jewish men and women who came to Palestine as farm-hands and were unable to secure employment. Of recent years many Jewish planters and farmers, in deference to this prejudice, agreed to engage none but Jewish labor. It is evident that either extreme is pernicious. The exclusion of Arab labor from Jewish economic life makes for a rift between the two groups which may have dire consequences. On the other hand, it is equally dangerous to withhold the opportunity of farm-work from Jewish immigrants. The obvious, as well as humane solution of the problem, is the introduction of a minimum wage.

Unless pressure is exercised from without to incite the Arabs against the Jews, or vice-versa, there is no reason to suppose that

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they cannot live side by side in increasing good-will and confidence. In this connection it is well to note the importance of fostering Hebrew as the Jewish medium of intercourse, in preference to a European idiom. Hebrew is much like Arabic, and its use is a powerful factor in bringing home to the Arabs the realization that the Jews are closely related to them, and not an alien people.

Christians in Palestine

The Christians of Palestine, numbering about 100,000, are a strange medley of peoples of all classes and circumstances, hailing from every quarter of the globe. Greek Catholics, Armenians and Copts rub shoulders with Roman Catholics and Protestants from Western Europe and America. Practically all of them have come to Palestine from religious motives, either as members of a religious order, as teachers in mission schools, as medical missionaries, or simply for the sake of spending their days in the Holy Land. The Jews have not had intimate dealings with them up to now. Attempts to proselytize among the Jews have met with so little success that of late missionary efforts have been directed almost exclusively toward the Moslems. That the Christians will not permit their Holy Places to pass into Jewish hands now that they have been wrested from Turkish dominion is certain. On the other hand, Jerusalem is bound to be more or less international in character, and a majority of Christians in Bethlehem and Nazareth can in no way hamper the economic or cultural development of the Jews.

Neighboring Nations

So far the Jews of Palestine, possessing no political status, have stood in no distinct relationship either to neighboring peoples or to the rest of the world. As a matter of fact there have not been any neighboring peoples, nationally speaking. Turkish suzerainty made development impossible, even for the Lebanon (north of Palestine), an autonomous province under the protection of six Christian powers. Now, however, that the national groups more or less near to Palestine, such as the Lebanese, the Arabs of the Hedjaz, and the Armenians, are in process of becoming independent, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be intimate ties between them. Industrially and commercially the various groups will have close affiliations. Their friendship and co-operation should be of the finest and most altruistic, as peoples who, having suffered ignominy and persecution, have come into their own without infringement upon the rights either of each other or the rest of the world.

Jews of the Dispersion

It is often asked what effect the establishment of a Jewish national center in Palestine will have upon the Jews remaining in the dispersion. Obviously, it will in no wise affect their national allegiances, any more than the restoration of Greece did that of Greeks living in other countries. That Palestine will exert a tremendous spiritual influence cannot be doubted. Apart from the fact that Judaism may in the future once more possess an authoritative body similar to the *Sanhedrin*, the effect of knowing that there is a Jewish homeland, that governments recognize Jewish emissaries, that there is a Hebrew University fostering the national Jewish tongue, and a merchant marine flying the Jewish flag, will unquestionably be to increase the self-respect of every Jew in the world, even though he have no desire to leave the country of his birth or adoption.

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CHAPTER XXVII

LIFE IN THE CITIES OF PALESTINE

Jerusalem

Jerusalem, the Holy City, is built in the mountains. Yet no high mountains are seen from it—it appears comparatively flat—because of its own elevation. It lies at about 2,500 feet above sea level; it has a number of hills, among them Mount Scopus, the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion; on the north it runs into the rocky mountain range of Judaea; to the east, west, and south are deep ravines. The Jordan is not visible, but from some points its depression can be seen, and the opposite line of the mountains of Moab, deep blue like an ocean congealed.

The inner or old city, within the city walls, was before the British occupation, dirty, ill-smelling, and overcrowded, yet picturesque in its hoary age. The crooked streets are ill-paved and so narrow that no vehicle can be used; many of them are blind alleys. All the houses are of stone. The roofs and walls are so arranged as to catch the rain water which runs into cisterns in the courts. This until recently has been almost the only water-supply of the inner city, eked out in summer by the Arab water-seller, who carries water in bags made of the whole skins of sheep or goats. The dwellings, of one or two rooms, covered with flat domes, open on a stone court, and all the stairways and passages are open to the sky. Thus a number of dwellings are combined into one structure. The rooms in one dwelling in these old houses are not divided by walls but only by one or two steps leading to a higher level. Chairs are uncommon in the dwellings of the Orientals. The couch or sofa is covered with gay stuff and bright cushions. The rooms are large with very small windows. Part of the roofs are arranged so they can be used as if they were balconies. Life in summer is spent out of doors. The shops are open on the street, with their gay wares projecting. A careless donkey or camel may cause wild havoc.

Miss Alice Seligsberg, administrator of the American Zionist Medical Unit, has written the following description in a letter: "We walked down Jaffa Street, through narrow vaulted thoroughfares open to the sky for the most part, but here and there completely covered,

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and always leading down lower and lower, by stairs of one step and a landing space, repeated perhaps a hundred times. On each side were arched bazaars for the sale of fruits, vegetables, stuffs, and other vari-colored merchandise. The masonry throughout as well as the pavements were of pale cream colored stone, the buildings were almost all two-story structures, the upper floor serving residential purposes. Here and there balconies projected, brightened with bunches of red peppers or with green plants. If this ancient quarter of the city were cleaned out, if the flies and donkeys and human filth were destroyed, a landscape artist could make this part of Jerusalem look as if it led higher and higher toward heaven."

The beautiful and impressive dome of the Mosque of Omar, one of the holiest of Moslem houses of worship, stands on the ancient site of the Temple. But if Jews as well as Christians are excluded from its recesses, there is one point near by which is altogether Jewish. At the Western or Wailing Wall, against the massive and weather-beaten rocks, groups of old-world Jews still pray and shed their tears, especially as the Sabbath approaches, testifying in this negative and plaintive way to the undying Jewish national hope.

The Jaffa Gate, which leads to the outer city, is the busiest center of the town. Here are shops and bazaars, a medley of costumes and physiognomies of all nations, carriages, camels, donkeys, dirt, and bustle. Here stands the massive gray tower, the so-called "Tower of David", dating from the fourteenth century. Beyond the Jaffa Gate is the Jaffa Road, leading out into the suburbs. Almost half of Jerusalem is suburbs.

Estimates of the inhabitants of Jerusalem since 1912 have varied from 70,000 to 100,000, but the former number is probably correct, and of these much more than half were Jews. The war has reduced the Jews from about 50,000 to 26,000. The Moslems numbered before the war about one-eighth and the Christians about one-fifth of the population. And this whole population has been much reduced by the war, temporarily no doubt. In 1881 Jerusalem is said to have had 35,000 inhabitants, of whom only 12,000 were Jews. The Jewish population is divided not only into the *Ashkenazim*, the *Sephardim* and other Oriental Jews, but each of these is again divided into infinitesimal groups, hailing from various lands, each *Kahal* having its own synagogue. The *Halukkah* has in great measure been responsible for this division, as also for the jealousies and feuds that often exist. But if Jerusalem Jewry presents no happy picture, conditions among the Christians, whose various sects live at daggers' points with each other,

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are far more deplorable. "The bitter war which rages among them is carried on with very foul weapons, and the contempt with which the Orthodox Jews and Mohammedans look down on the Christians is only too well deserved."*

Every Easter thousands of poor Russian Christians pass as pilgrims through Jerusalem. The mixture of nationalities, if spiritually disconcerting, is marvelously picturesque. Among the Jews the older immigrants keep to their original costumes. The Bokharan Jews—among the wealthiest recent settlers—wear on the Sabbath long silk robes of brilliant and beautiful colors in medieval styles. Both men and women, tall and aristocratic looking, are clad thus. The *Ashkenazim* wear flowing purple or rose-colored velvet gowns and long earlocks. Their head-dress is trimmed with a wreath of fur.

In Jerusalem there are several Jewish quarters—for as everywhere in the Orient each nationality has its own district—and these Jewish quarters have each a distinct history. Within the old city are chiefly the *Halukkah* Jews. But outside of the inner city, along the Jaffa Road, one Jewish quarter after another has sprung up in recent years, until Jewish Jerusalem outside the walls is three times as large as within the walls. There is Shaare Zedek, and behind it the poorest of Jewish sections, the Yemenite and Persian quarter, called the "tin quarter" because the floorless, windowless huts are roofed and clamped with tin from Standard Oil Company cans. There is Ohel Mosheh, a Montefiore colony, and beyond it, the modern and pleasant Zichron Mosheh, the most modern of Jewish quarters, with its attractive rose-colored stone houses surrounded by gardens. Then there is Meah Shearim, a bit of Russian Ghetto transplanted to Palestine, and in contrast is Rehobot, a modern quarter, where dwell the well-to-do Bokharan Jews in large and pleasant houses with balconies and gardens.

The Jews in Jerusalem have four hospitals, as many orphan asylums, an insane asylum, an asylum for the blind, two old-folks' homes, several soup kitchens, and an eye clinic. There are schools, a nurses' settlement, the health bureau, club-houses, and publishing houses. There are two good Jewish hotels, the Amdursky and the Kamenitz, just outside Jaffa Gate. There are three large synagogues and more than one hundred small ones.

Among the Old Settlement Jews there is a great dearth of industrial training, especially among the women, who have not even proper training for home-making. Marriages of girls are generally very early,

* Palestine and Syria, by Karl Baedeker, 1912, p. 33.

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among the Yemenites as early as at eleven years. There are numerous Jewish artisans and shop-keepers, but the low economic development of the country affords them little work. Hence the dire poverty. Charity has led to pauperization. About 1850, Mrs. James Finn, wife of a British consul, started an industrial and agricultural enterprise for Jews, called "Abraham's Vineyard", to which the Jews flocked for work. The *Bezalel* School has employed and trained hundreds from the Old *Yishub*. Industrial schools, industrial opportunities, and a minimum wage would recreate old Jerusalem.

The problem of disunity is a problem for the new settlement. At first the tendency was for the New *Yishub* to ignore or defy the old. But recently, it has become clear that if Palestine is to prosper, they must merge. The children of the Old *Yishub* are attending the general and technical schools of the New. Jewish nationalism is creating Jewish unity. The war, which disrupted the *Halukkah* operations, may be the first step toward its reform. The British in their short stay have cleaned the streets and have already installed a good part of a modern water system and drainage. Jerusalem holds within itself the physical as well as the spiritual possibilities of complete modernization. The Weizmann commission—more especially Dr. Weizmann himself—has further drawn together all Jewish factions in Jerusalem. The Jews of the city have taken steps toward organization, and a measure of order has been brought into the school system.

The hope of Jerusalem, socially and hygienically speaking, lies outside of Jerusalem. Many Zionists are of the opinion that the old city ought to become a sort of Roman Forum, a national treasure place of antiquities through its excavations, and that only the suburbs should be used for residential and business purposes.

Jaffa

Jaffa, rising creamy white on its hill, is beautiful from the blue Mediterranean. But within, the old city is anything but lovely. Its streets are covered ankle deep with dust, which turns to mud in the rainy season. However, here too the British have already remedied matters, have introduced a measure of cleanliness and order, and have cleared a road through the maze of lanes to the port. Djemal Pasha, too, during his military rule had an avenue built by a Jewish engineer. The Arab bazaar is busy and picturesque. The city, like Jerusalem, is divided into the "old" and the "new", and it is surrounded by wonderfully beautiful gardens and orange groves, among them those of the neighboring Jewish villages. As a port, Jaffa is very imperfect.

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The rocky reefs make it necessary to reach land by small boats, since the steamers cannot dock—an uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous proceeding.

There are three Jewish quarters in Jaffa proper, Neveh Zedek, Neveh Shalom and Neveh Yafeh, each comprising a block of houses. Of the 50,000 inhabitants before the war about 30,000 were Moslems, 10,000 Christians, and 10,000 Jews (Baedeker and Trietsch, 1912). Tel Aviv, the Jewish garden suburb of Jaffa, is the pride of Jewish Palestine, and here about one-quarter of Jaffa's Jews dwell. Naturally the Turkish deportations and persecutions have reduced the population temporarily. Tel Aviv had been growing, too, into additional Jewish suburbs. The housing problem, here as in Jerusalem, was an acute one. With the growth of the Jewish population, rents rose enormously. In 1909 the Jewish National Fund, diverging from its accepted policy, made a loan of \$48,000 to the *Ahuzat Bayit*, a co-operative building association. However, lack of direct control by the National Fund has resulted in speculation in real estate. Tel Aviv has grown to be a beautiful, healthful, neat, and dustless quarter, thoroughly Jewish and nationalist. Its broad streets are lined with trees. Herzl Street, with the imposing Hebrew high school at its head, is bright and lovely. The public lighting and water systems are modern. The houses have running water, the water supply is ample, and the square-set concrete houses stand in gardens. The inhabitants are free, progressive, independent, and wholly Hebraic. Here are the public institutions and buildings, the office of the Odessa Committee and the Palestine Bureau, the schools, synagogues, *Shaare Zedek* Hospital, the *Bet-Am*, and the library. There is local self-government as in the Jewish villages, and self-imposed restrictions as to building, street width, shops, policing, etc., have made of it a model town.

Haifa

Lying in the Bay of Acre, among its palms, with a spur of Carmel just behind it, castle-crowned, and with Carmel itself rising clear and high out of a wreath of gardens and olive orchards, Haifa is indeed well set. It is the one natural harbor of Palestine, in its deep bay with its curve of smooth, hard beach. Today it is less important than Jaffa as a port, but the artificial break-water and harbor that must be built should make of it the most important harbor of Palestine. It will no doubt become the largest and richest city of the land. Through it flows, even now, the wealth of wheat and corn brought on camels from the fertile plains of Hauran east of Jordan.

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Haifa had before the war a population of about 20,000, more than half of them Moslems, about 5,000 Jews, and the rest various sects of Christians (Baedeker 1912). The Jews, many of them Morroccans, have almost all settled there within the last sixty years. Latterly the Jewish immigration has been chiefly Roumanian. The town is modern and comparatively clean, due in large measure to the German Christian colony; and altogether it is attractive. It is growing rapidly. The Jews are planning and have begun to build a garden suburb, Herzlia, on the side of Carmel, of the same type as Tel Aviv, but even more "restricted". As at Jaffa, the Jewish life is in close touch and sympathy with that of the neighboring Jewish agricultural villages. If many of the Jews are poor, yet the community is self-supporting and industrious. It has created and satisfied its own needs.

Hebron

The three other "holy" cities, besides Jerusalem, prove that in modern parlance holiness is not akin to cleanliness. Hebron, the city of the Patriarchs, is a little town which before the war had about 22,000 inhabitants, 20,000 Moslems, 2,000 Jews, and practically no Christians (Baedeker, 1912). The Jews, we know, have been reduced by the war to only about 600. Hebron lies 20 miles south of Jerusalem among the southern mountains of Judaea, 3,400 feet above sea-level, in a narrow, well-watered and very fertile valley. Good wine is still made by the Jews from its grapes, and almond and apricot trees abound. The Moslems here are extremely fanatical. The *Haram*, the area surrounding the legendary site of the Cave of Machpelah, is held to be specially sacred, and no non-Moslem, "unbeliever," is permitted to go beyond the seventh step in its hoary wall. Within is an ancient Mosque. "You find fig trees and cactus hedges, and at the bottom of this shut-in valley there is this wonderful old city, with its tortuous narrow streets where no wheeled vehicle can go, built over with arches, with houses five and six stories high, built of the beautiful yellowish golden limestone of Judaea."* Except for the high houses, it resembles the other Arab towns; its roofs, too, are used for balcony purposes, as elsewhere, and the glorious sunlight and fresh climate compensate in a measure for human slovenliness.

Until recently fanaticism was so intense that the Jews were practically prisoners in their Ghettos. For here is indeed Ghetto life. Even now, though life is gradually growing freer, the walled Ghetto

* Major William Ormsby-Gore, Address.



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still has all its gates locked each night. Almost all the Jews, who are pitifully poor, depend upon the *Halukkah*. This maintains several synagogues, *Batte Hamidrash*, *Yeshibot*, and *Talmud Torah* schools for both the *Sephardim* and the *Ashkenazim*. Recently a Hebrew kindergarten has brought a breath of the new spirit. There are a few carpenters and shoe makers, and some Jews are employed in a glass factory which manufactures jewels and trinkets from old glass. There are three mutual aid societies and a free dispensary. The Jews live in most appalling squalor and filth in a maze of dark, crooked, narrow alleys. Here the spirit of the new life has hardly yet come to breathe upon the dead bones.

Safed

Perched on a mountain in Galilee, 2,750 feet above sea-level, the holy city of Safed, amid beautiful scenery, in a bracing climate and lovely to look upon from without, is within hopelessly dirty, ill-smelling, sordid. Down the center of its streets run open sewers. The majority of its inhabitants are Jews. Before the war there were about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom only 7,000 were Moslems, and from 400 to 500 Christians (Baedeker, 1912). The war has reduced the Jewish population to 3,000.

The Jewish community dates from the sixteenth century, when Safed was a world-famed center of Rabbinism and the *Kabbalah* (see Ch. XXIII). Twice, in 1769 and in 1837, the Jewish community suffered great loss of life from earthquakes; and plagues also made frequent and terrible ravages. Because of its Rabbinic history, the city is looked upon as holy, and the Messiah is expected to appear there. Sir Moses Montefiore and Isaac Vita rebuilt houses and synagogues after 1837, but not their reconstruction nor yet the two well-conducted schools supported by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and Baron de Rothschild have been able to revitalize the ancient, decrepit life. Almost all the Jews are supported by the *Halukkah*. Their intense religious life, with even its local festivals and customs—such as the festival of Simeon ben Yohai which attracts many pilgrims—have been recently supplemented by a Zionist society. There is also a lodge of the *B'ne B'rit*. Depressed and depressing as is this languishing Jewish life, a breath of hope has blown upon it.

Tiberias

The holy city of Tiberias is beautifully situated on the shores of the blue lake of Gennesaret, on a narrow plain between the lake and

the hills. It is entered through a Roman gateway, beside the ruins of a Roman castle. The town is predominantly Jewish, having before the war about 7,000 Jewish inhabitants, 1,400 Moslems, and only about 200 Christians (Baedeker, 1912). The narrow, dirty streets are lined with little white houses of mud or stone, with no or few windows, cave-like dwellings, into which man and beast descend together at the fall of night. It has unpleasant renown for its vermin, the Arabs claiming that there the king of the fleas holds his court. The Jewish community is very old, and ever since the dispersion Tiberias has been famed in Jewish history. At first the Jews refused to dwell there because it was built over a cemetery, but after the destruction of Jerusalem it became a center of Jewish learning, and has remained ever since dedicated to Jewish study. Most of its inhabitants are *Halukkah* Jews. It has its *Yeshibot* and *Talmud Torahs* and numerous synagogues. The breath of the Hebrew revival has barely touched it, yet it cannot long delay. With the revival of modern Palestine, the Lake of Tiberias is bound to attract tourists to its mineral springs. Economic revival must bring moral and social awakening. The *Mizrachi* (see Ch. XV) among the Zionists have proved that intense traditional Jewishness is compatible with national life and progress. Soon the day may come when these ancient cities shall be called not only holy but wholesome.

Gaza

Although Gaza was before the war inhabited by only about 150 Jews, among a population of 40,000 Moslems, many of them more or less settled *Bedouin*, and perhaps 1,100 Christians (Baedeker, 1912), its position of importance and its promise for the future make it of interest to Jewish nationalists. It is an oasis on the outskirts of the desert, many-fountained, beautiful among its gardens and orchards, on the rim of the blue Mediterranean. The city has an Egyptian tinge, noticeable in the costumes of its inhabitants. Golden sands, palm trees, deep wells, rich gardens, white masonry scattered upon its hills, such is the truly Oriental Gaza. Here the *Bedouin* come to trade grain, dates, olives, figs, and lentils. Pottery and weaving were carried on here before the war, the latter with wool from Manchester in a German-owned mill. The British occupation has given Gaza a railroad up from Egypt and up to Jerusalem. Gaza is a natural port as well as the halting place between Egypt and Syria, yet no light-house flashes across its roadstead. There is no break-water; there is no harbor. Lighters load in shallow water and pound the beach when

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the wind blows. Gaza is not easily reached by coasting boat or by camel. No steamers call regularly, and there are no banking facilities nearer than Jaffa. Despite poverty and lack of sanitation, the people thrive in the healthful climate. The mystic, quiet, often barren beauty of Palestine holds its breath for a new era.

Notes on Cities

(1) Religions. In the Orient religion is more distinguishing than nationality, and has its ancient political significance. Where Christians are mentioned, the term refers to Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, various Protestant sects, and so covers a variety of disunited and often antagonistic peoples.

(2) Size of cities. What is dignified by the name of "city" often appears as no more than a small town or village. The cities of Bible fame were even smaller.

(3) Other cities. Damascus, which has a considerable Jewish population is not accounted part of Palestine. In other cities the Jewish population is small. Ancient Shechem, or Nablus, is interesting for its few families of Samaritans, unchanged in their creed or customs since Bible times. In Nazareth and Bethlehem no Jews dwell; they are centers of a Christian fanaticism bound up with their later religious history.

(4) Ruins. "The further you go the more frequently you are reminded that you are in a land of lost footsteps. Plain and mountain are haunted with suggestion of vanished populations. Traces of deserted villages, broken stone dykes, stone presses for wine or oil, water tanks, rock tombs, perhaps fragments of a church, tell of green orchards and of fields once fertile. On the uplands almost every ridge and peak is topped with ruins."—From *Dawn in Palestine*, by William Canton.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PROBLEMS OF SANITATION IN PALESTINE*

Conditions in Jerusalem

The health of a city is conditioned by two factors, its location and the standard of life of the inhabitants. The location of Jerusalem from the standpoint of healthfulness is excellent. It is built on a dry plateau, 2,400 feet above sea level; it has a sustained temperate climate, rarely rising above 85 degrees F. in summer or falling below the freezing temperature in winter. Throughout the summer a cool sea breeze plays over the city during the day; there are no swamps in the neighborhood infested with disease-carrying mosquitoes. These fine prospects for a healthy city are counteracted by the characteristic Oriental indifference of the inhabitants to personal hygiene. Partly this is due to ignorance, partly to its half-brother poverty, and partly also to the real scarcity of water in Jerusalem.

The immediate problem confronting Jerusalem is the obtaining of an adequate supply of pure water. This has been partly solved recently by the British, who piped the water from a series of springs some miles away direct to the city. These springs furnish about 14,000 gallons of water per hour and form an invaluable supplement to the cistern supply. Prior to this, the cistern was the only source, and even now it still is the main supply on which the bulk of the population depends. These cisterns store the rain water from one winter to the next. If the rainfall is low, the supply is inadequate; even with an abundant rainfall the water rarely suffices for the entire summer. Consequently a degree of economy is practised which naturally leads to uncleanness. The cistern is furthermore a great menace because it affords a breeding place for the *anopheles* mosquito, the carrier of the malaria parasite—the great scourge of Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine.

Poverty and ignorance are contributing causes of the unhealthy condition of Jerusalem. Poverty leads to congestion, and congestion favors the rapid spread of various contagious diseases, particularly pneumonia, tuberculosis, dysentery and cholera. Filthiness seems to be the natural condition of most Oriental cities. In Jerusalem as

* By Dr. Israel J. Kligler.

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elsewhere in Turkey the outhouse is a crude pit built in the court, often in close proximity to the cistern. Infiltration of material from the pit to the well is almost inevitable; this is probably a factor in the dissemination of dysentery, typhoid, and cholera. Personal uncleanness also leads to breeding of vermin, which contribute largely to the high morbidity in Jerusalem. The vermin are responsible for the transmission of typhus and recurrent fever, both of which are quite common in Jerusalem.

The diseases most prevalent in Jerusalem are malaria, trachoma, dysentery, recurrent fever, and typhus fever. About 40 per cent. of the inhabitants are infected with malaria; while 60 per cent. of the school children had trachoma before the American Zionist Woman's Society, *Hadassah*, began its work in the schools. Dysentery is a common ailment, especially prevalent during the summer months. And the sad part is that all these diseases are easily preventable. It is only under the shiftless Turks that a city of 70,000 to 80,000 people could be permitted to go without a water supply, without proper disposal of human waste, without provision for collection of garbage, without any attempt to enforce vaccination against smallpox or isolation of contagious diseases. It is this indifference to community hygiene and general sanitation that is responsible for at least 85 per cent. of the morbidity of Jerusalem.

Conditions in Other Cities

The problems of the other cities of Palestine are much the same as those of Jerusalem. In the order of their importance they are (1) a pure and adequate water supply; (2) proper sewerage systems for disposing of the human and animal waste; (3) modern hospital facilities and hygienic institutes, and (4) modern well ventilated dwellings.

Most of the cities of Palestine and Syria depend on the cistern for their water for all purposes. The shortcomings and dangers of such a supply have been mentioned above. None of the cities of Palestine, with the exception of Tel Aviv, has a modern sewage disposal system. The primitive pit or vault privy prevails. Before the war there were several moderately good hospitals in Jerusalem, and Jaffa, Haifa, Safed and the other large cities had at least one hospital each. Most of them were either mission or charity hospitals poorly equipped, with only a few beds and, at best, inadequate for the needs of a community with a high morbidity. Community control of the general hygienic conditions was entirely lacking. Even larger cities such as

Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, and Tiberias had no Public Health Department for the diagnosis of infectious diseases, control of epidemics, regulation of the handling and purity of food, etc. Finally, paradoxical as it may sound, there is a real housing problem in all the Palestinian cities. The streets are as a rule narrow and crooked. The houses are built close together with the windows facing either a dark alley or a dark court. They are usually only two to three stories high, but are poorly built and greatly congested. A family of four or six may be crowded into two small ill ventilated rooms.

Conditions in the Villages

In contrast with the miserable condition of the cities we have those of the new Jewish villages. In most of these villages good fresh water is obtained from pump wells. The houses, if not beautiful, are substantial, clean and healthful. The free open air life is also conducive to better health and increased vigor. The problem of the Jewish villages, particularly those near Jaffa (Rishon le-Zion, Rehobot, etc.), and those surrounding the Sea of Tiberias is one of location. The low-lying marshlands are breeding places for the malarial mosquitoes. In all these settlements malaria is more or less common; in some it is as prevalent as in Jerusalem or even more so. Attempts have been made to drain these marshes by planting large numbers of eucalyptus trees, but this hardly scratched the surface of the problem, affecting only limited areas. The real and radical solution lies in extensive ditching and oiling. By proper drainage, the entire coastal plain would not only be rid of the pest, but would be converted into a healthful, fertile region.

A serious problem that confronts some of the larger Jewish villages is the Arabian part of the population. These natives live in a most primitive manner. Their dwellings consist usually of a house of a single room, made of clay, without any windows and with but one low hole in one of the walls. This opening performs the triple function of door, window, and chimney. In this hut of one room, the whole family lives, cooks, eats, and sleeps. The effect of such an unsanitary mode of life on their health is self-evident. In addition to this, their superstitions and the Moslem fatalism resist any attempts at prevention of pre-ordained ills. These people are an ever-present menace to the health of the rest of the Jewish village.

Health Agencies in Palestine

It is difficult in this period of transition to say anything definite regarding the sanitary institutions of Palestine. Some of those that

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existed before the war have disappeared. Temporary organizations sent by various relief agencies have been at work since the British occupation. Two institutions, both due to American initiative, should, however, be given first rank. These are (1) the Straus Health Bureau and (2) the *Hadassah* Nurses' Settlement House.

The Straus Health Bureau in Jerusalem was organized by the personal efforts of Mr. Nathan Straus in 1912. A complete health department was established where hygienic, laboratory, diagnosis, and vaccine and serum work was carried on. A Pasteur Institute was also established. Dr. Brünn was put at the head of the Hygienic Department and promptly attacked the acute problem of malaria. Dr. Goldberg had charge of the Laboratory and Dr. Behan directed the Pasteur Institute. The war interrupted some of their efforts, but the work was continued in part even under the greatest difficulties. The need of a well equipped, properly organized Health Department was never more urgent than now.

The Nurses' Settlement was also established in 1912. Two American trained nurses, Miss Rose Kaplan and Miss Rachel Landy, were sent to Jerusalem by the *Hadassah*, and with true feminine instinct they devoted themselves to the vital questions of child welfare. Maternity care and trachoma treatment among school children were their chief fields of endeavor. In the short time before and during the trying years of the war these nurses, in addition to their duties as visiting nurses, supervised the work of six midwives, and, under the supervision of Dr. Albert Ticho of the *Le-Ma-an Zion* Eye Clinic, gave treatments for trachoma in 19 Jewish schools with over 3,000 children, and as a result of their efforts the incidence of the disease among these children was reduced from 27.9 per cent. to 14.11 per cent.

After the two nurses were forced to leave the country, a Jewish woman physician of Jerusalem, Dr. Helene Kagan, took over the midwifery supervision and, when the Settlement was closed, opened for *Hadassah* a clinic for women and children which functioned throughout the war. The trachoma work was also continued by probationers trained by the nurses.

Prior to the war, there were in Jerusalem four Jewish hospitals, and about eleven of other nationalities. Most of them were forced to close their doors either for lack of funds or other reasons until the American Zionist Medical Unit arrived. With the co-operation of the British, the Unit refurnished one of the old hospitals with 100 beds, opened a clinic and a training school for thirty nurses,

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and attempted to give the most needed medical aid. Sections of the Unit went to various parts of the land, especially where epidemics were raging. Definite information regarding the existing conditions is not as yet available. One thing, however, seems certain, and that is that in all matters pertaining to health we shall have to start anew and build from the bottom. If we are to start anew it will be necessary to formulate a broad plan. Such a plan should have as a basis the modern principle of prevention instead of the old doctrine of merely healing. Medical relief and cure are necessarily of primary importance when the nature and mode of transmission of a given disease are unknown. As soon, however, as we obtain definite knowledge regarding these facts, prevention becomes of primary importance, and healing and relief take a subsidiary place. Especially in an undeveloped country broad preventive measures are essential in order to render the country safe for the pioneers who come to blaze the trail, and in order to make it habitable for the masses of immigrants who follow them as settlers. It is hoped that the American Medical Unit, with its body of experts and specialists, may not only render temporary relief, but may lay the foundation for a national system of Public Health.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE RESOURCES OF PALESTINE*

The Present Condition of Palestine

The possibilities of Palestine cannot be gauged by the economic situation of the country as we know it. Of the three principal factors which go to make up a country's prosperity—natural resources, man power, and a benevolent administration—Palestine had only the first; and that is useless without the quickening influence on the other two. However, despite the fact that the native population did nothing, or practically nothing to exploit the wealth of the land; despite the restrictions put upon the more enterprising elements of the population by the Turkish administration, the remarkable achievements of the Jewish and other settlers give one at least a clue as to what may be expected in the future.

An Agricultural Country—Its Products

Nature has destined Palestine to be an agricultural country. There is practically no part of the land which cannot be rendered productive by the application of such methods as have served to reclaim vast arid regions in the West of the United States. We are accustomed to think of Palestine as the land of the olive and the grape. However, it is no less the land of wheat and barley, sesame and sorghum, alfalfa and clover, fruits and vegetables, cotton, sugar and tobacco, stock-farming, apiculture, and poultry-raising.

The Olive

The olive and the grape, it is true, take precedence over other branches of Palestinian production. Since time immemorial the inhabitants of the land have prepared olive-oil by means of primitive hand-presses. This oil is used for cookery and in soap-making, the residue serving for fuel and in the manufacture of *Halvah* (an Oriental sweet meat).

* By Nellie Straus.

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The Grape

In recent years the grape has become peculiarly prominent in agriculture and industry as a result of the activities of Baron de Rothschild, who constructed spacious wine cellars in the Jewish villages of Rishon le-Zion (Judaea) and Zichron Ya-acob (Samaria) and expended money lavishly in the planting of extensive vineyards. This was in the eighties and nineties, before a judicious distribution of agricultural enterprises had been evolved. Time showed that it was precarious to depend on viticulture alone, but wiser to combine it with cereal cultivation, orchards, poultry-raising, etc., in order to insure the steady well-being of the farmer. It must not be supposed, however, that Baron de Rothschild's contribution to Palestinian agriculture proved a failure. On the contrary, the vintners of Rishon le-Zion, Zichron Ya-acob, and Rosh Pinah have succeeded not only in producing wines and liquors of a superior quality, but moreover in disposing of them to advantage in Egyptian and European markets. In 1915, over a million gallons of wine were exported by the *Société Co-operative Vigneronne des Grandes Caves de Richon le-Zion et Zichron Ya-acob*.

Grain Cultivation

Grain cultivation has been engaged in by the Arab population rather than by the Jewish farmers, although it has been introduced in increasing measure in the Jewish agricultural villages of Samaria and Galilee as well as in certain parts of Judaea, for instance the village of Gederah. Gaza is the center of barley-raising, and in good years considerable quantities are exported, mainly to England. In the last decades the rapid growth of Jerusalem has made it necessary to import wheat in addition to that received from Hauran. This is not due to the limited capacity for wheat production of Hauran, but only to its untilled state. As a matter of fact Hauran produced the finest wheat of the Roman Empire, and its estimated yield exceeds the needs even of a populous Palestine. The fruits and vegetables of Palestine are the boast of the inhabitant and the delight of the visitor. Nowhere on earth, they claim, are such melons and cucumbers to be found. The Haifa oranges are famous for their juiciness and fine flavor. In the Judaeian villages of Rishon le-Zion, Petah Tikvah, Rehovot, etc., the orange groves have proved the most remunerative type of agriculture, paying over ten per cent. on the invested capital. In 1912, for instance, about 400,000 crates of oranges were exported by the Jewish planters (who, like the vintners, are banded together in co-operative

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associations). Lemons are also grown, as well as apricots, figs, dates, pomegranates, St. John's bread, etc. Special mention should be made of the almond plantations, which have brought prosperity to numbers of colonists of late years.

Stock-farming and Grazing

The juxtaposition of stock-farming and apiculture recalls the Biblical promise of "milk and honey". What could be defined as animal industry, if it were carried on in a less primitive fashion, is the main pursuit of the country, especially east of the Jordan. The herds of goats which have contributed so largely to the deforestation of Palestine supply the peasants and the wandering tribes with milk, hides, etc. The *Bedouin* of Transjordan, in addition to their herds of goats, raise cattle, sheep, and camels in large numbers, bringing their products to the Syrian markets for sale and barter. The Jewish farmers have not yet accustomed themselves to stock-farming* as such, but in the German Templar colonies dairying proved a highly remunerative pursuit. Apiculture and poultry-raising have not yet been undertaken on a large scale, but will undoubtedly become an important factor in the system of intensive agriculture which will be carried into effect in Western Palestine.

Tobacco, Cotton, Sugar-cane, Castor-oil, etc.

There has been little actual achievement in the way of the three commercial crops which could add materially to the wealth of the country. Tobacco is known to thrive in sections of Palestine, but could not be cultivated heretofore because of the Turkish monopoly. Cotton was grown along the coastal plain over half a century ago, and only lack of capital and transportation facilities have prevented the isolated ventures with both sugar-cane and sugar beets from developing. Other agricultural possibilities are the cultivation of rice and papyrus in the marshes of Lake Huleh and of the castor oil bush in the Negeb. If one includes forms of agriculture which have not yet been experimented with, the enumeration can be continued indefinitely, so varied are the Palestinian soil and climate.

Industries Based on Products

The industries of Palestine have, of necessity, been mainly of an agricultural nature. Oil, soap, alcoholic beverages, lime, flour, volatile

* There are model dairies and chicken-farms in the colony of Ben-Shamen, established by the Jewish National Fund.

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oils and perfumes, pottery, devotional articles of olive-wood and mother-of-pearl—these have been the chief products of Palestinian industry. It is a noteworthy fact that with the exception of oil production and milling, these few industries have been pursued by the immigrant population, especially by the European Jews. Wine-making has brought with it the production of cream of tartar, and an abortive attempt—which should, however, succeed under more auspicious circumstances—to establish a glass factory in Tanturah. Other industries introduced by the Jewish immigrants are the manufacture of building materials and the construction of barrels and crates (the latter of eucalyptus wood) for the wine and orange trade. The *Bezalel* School in Jerusalem has become a center for arts and crafts work—carpet-weaving, lace-making, wood-carving, etc.

The agricultural industries of the future, besides developing along the same lines as heretofore, will follow directly upon the growth and expansion of husbandry. The luxuriant fruits and vegetables of the coastal plain call for the introduction of canning and dessicating. There should be sugar refineries, macaroni-making, cotton mills and cigarette factories. The stock-farms of Transjordan will bring with them the establishment of dairies, tanneries, etc. Possibly the silk industry will become popular, although of late years it has declined in Northern Syria.

Mineral Resources

But Palestine has other resources than those which come under the heading of agriculture. Its mineral deposits have not yet been determined with any degree of accuracy. Scientific explorers maintain that there is neither coal nor iron south of the Lebanon. However, we may expect to find important oil deposits in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, the waters of which contain various substances of industrial value. There are phosphate mines near the city of Es-Salt. Throughout Palestine limestone quarries are to be found, as well as a few marble quarries and clay-pits, the last especially in Judaea. Of peculiar importance industrially are the mineral springs of Tiberias and Calirrhoe, with medicinal properties which have been famous since antiquity.

Fishery

Fishery can also add to the wealth of the country. Not only are the waters of the coast and of the Lake of Tiberias able to supply the country with fish, but, if hatcheries and preserves are established,

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there will probably be a sufficient quantity to warrant the introduction of smoking, salting, and canning. The Bay of Acre also contains sponges.

Forestry

The forest resources of Palestine are practically non-existent, not because the land is barren of trees by nature (cf. the Bible and medieval history) but through the devastation of many wars and the improvidence and wastefulness of the Arab population, which has hewn down the trees for fuel and permitted its herds to destroy the saplings and underbrush. If once afforestation is undertaken on a scientific basis the country will gain tremendously, economically and aesthetically. Not only does the presence of forests prevent the encroachment of the sand-dunes, but the need for both timber and fuel will become increasingly great. It should be remarked that the Jewish farmers introduced Australian eucalypti in order to drain the marshes. Charles Netter, of the *Mikveh Israel* School, first introduced the tree in Palestine. These trees have already grown up into rich forests. They are known to the Arabs as "Jews' trees".

It must not be supposed, moreover, that the industries of Palestine need consist solely of the finishing of domestic products. Palestine has a large *Hinterland*, whence raw products can be imported.

The Tourist "Industry"

The influx of tourists, too, which will be greater than ever before, thanks to improved traveling arrangements and hotel accommodations, will cause numbers of new industries to grow up, and will prove a source of wealth to the country.

What the Country Requires

Let once an energetic population be permitted to develop Palestine under favorable political and economic conditions, and there is every reason to suppose that the land will prosper. But it will take well-planned and well-directed efforts to reclaim it from centuries of neglect and abuse. There is urgent need for irrigation, drainage, afforestation, terracing and fertilizing; for the clearing away of stones on the hillsides and sand-dunes along the coast. The introduction of industry will demand first of all an adequate supply of electricity. Several experts assure us that the falls of the Jordan and the Yarmuk can be made to provide all Palestine with electricity. This, as well as

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adequate transportation and storage facilities, the importation of up-to-date machinery and implements, and a scientific distribution of agricultural pursuits, are only a few of the many tasks which confront the administration of Palestine.

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CHAPTER XXX

COMMERCE (INCLUDING TRANSPORTATION AND FINANCE)*

Oriental Business Methods

In order to visualize the commerce of Palestine as it existed up to the present time, it is necessary to have some understanding of Oriental business methods. Business in Asia Minor is not conducted as it is in New York or even in the smallest American town. There are neither stock exchanges nor offices in our sense of the term. To sell any commodity for a fixed price, without bargaining, is unknown. The Arab merchant serves his customer with coffee, converses with him for hours, sometimes even for days, on abstract matters, and finally the deal is closed without the aid of stenographer, dictaphone, or any of the other complexities of our Western business life.

However, the absence of business mechanism has made trade exceedingly complicated, especially for the uninitiated Westerner. For instance, despite various rulings of the Turkish Government, there was no uniform currency. A *lira* was worth 141 *piastres* in Jaffa, and 255 *piastres* in Gaza.

Modern Banks and Credit in Palestine

It is only of recent years that several banking houses (such as the *Banque Imperiale Ottomane* and the *Credit Lyonnais*) have established branches in Palestine. Of particular interest to us is the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which entered upon its activities in 1903. (See Ch. XI.) The Anglo-Palestine Bank has been an important factor in the economic development of the land, especially through its co-operative loan associations and its system of long term credits for farmers, Arabs as well as Jews. At the beginning of the war it was the Anglo-Palestine Bank which, by its prompt action in issuing checks, averted a panic when the moratorium was declared. Closed by the Turkish Government, it re-entered upon its activities with the British occupation of Judaea, and is now playing an important role in Palestine, issuing currency, etc. The Anglo-Palestine Bank has

* By Nellie Straus.

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eight branches at the present writing. Forty-five co-operative loan associations are affiliated with it.

The introduction of such loan facilities should be particularly beneficial to the Arab population, for up to now it has been at the mercy of usurers. The Arab money-lender charges the peasant exorbitant rates of interest, and makes away with his herds and even with his house when he is unable to pay. This abuse, added to the heavy taxes levied by the Turkish Government, and the prevailing system of land tenure (most of the *Fellaheen* suffering under the curse of absentee landlordism), has made it literally impossible for the native population to do more than scrape together the barest livelihood.

Insurance

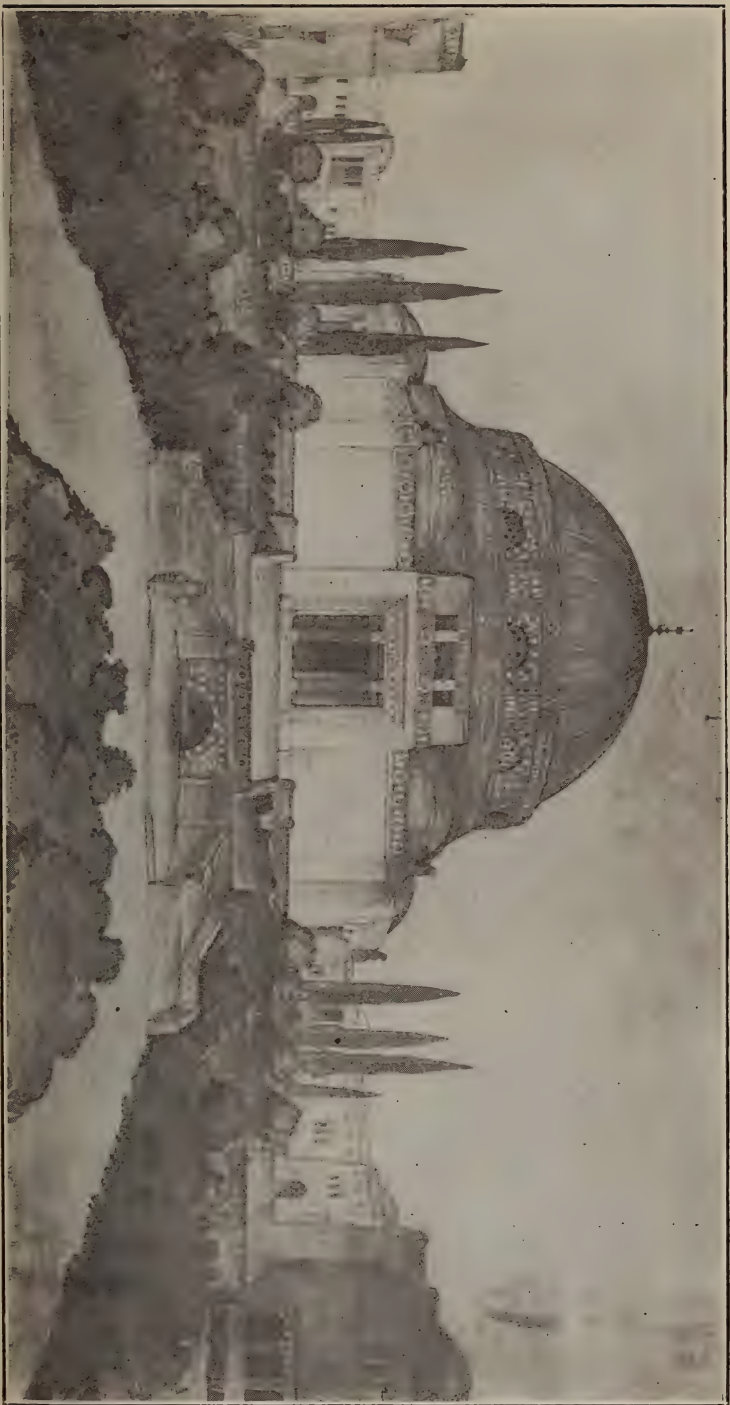
Even more recent than the banks is the insurance agent, who has not done a flourishing business in Palestine thus far. Fire insurance is not popular, because, thanks to the stone and brick houses of the land, fires are a rare occurrence. Life insurance, which appeals to the Jewish population, does not accord with Moslem fatalism. Co-operative cattle insurance has been introduced in the Jewish colonies.

Lack of Transportation and Storage Facilities

The greatest hindrance in the way of commercial development was the lack of transportation and storage facilities. Before the war, the road system of Palestine was inadequate and extremely poor, for the road tax levied by the Government was never devoted to its ostensible purpose. The railway system—if it could be dignified by that name—consisted of the Jaffa-Jerusalem line, operated by a French Company since 1892, and of the western arm of the Hedjaz Railway (the Pilgrims' Line running from Damascus to Medina and Mecca), branching off at el Mezerib and reaching to Haifa.

New Strategic Railways

However, the war left Palestine a splendid legacy. The Turks under German tutelage and the British vied with each other in constructing excellent roads and a network of railways for strategic purposes. At present, it is possible to go from Cairo to Jerusalem by rail. From Jerusalem one can travel to Gaza, to Beersheba, to Haifa, and even to Beirut and Damascus. Soon there will be a direct line between Jaffa and Haifa. Lydda (southeast of Jaffa) and Afuleh (Merhaviah) in the Plain of Esdraelon, have become important junc-



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tions. The Hedjaz Railway has thrown out another branch, to Es Salt. When Jerusalem is connected with Es Salt, and Akabah with Ma'an, and especially if a route is complete from Palestine to Constantinople, the needs of inland transportation will be on the way to being filled, and a tremendous impetus will have been given to industry and commerce.

Harbors

The railways alone, however, are useless without proper shipping facilities, and these will depend first of all on the construction of harbors. Plans have already been made for good harbors in Haifa and Jaffa, and it is not unlikely that Gaza and Akabah may follow in rapid succession.

Even when steamers had to stop a mile out at sea in order to avoid the reefs at Jaffa, numbers of lines—French, Austrian, Italian, English, German, Russian, Greek, etc.—included this harbor, and to a smaller extent, Haifa, in their service. This was partly in order to transport the large numbers of tourists and pilgrims, and partly for freight purposes.

Need of Storage Warehouses

With the construction of harbors should come storage warehouses, especially for grain. Up to now the magnificent wheat of Hauran lay on open platforms, exposed to dust and rain, until it was transported westward either by camel or by train.

Import and Export

Under these unfavorable circumstances, added to the difficulties standing in the way of agriculture and industries, it is small wonder that the commerce of Palestine should have remained stagnant, consisting for the most part of the import of necessities and the export of superfluous produce, such as grain, both conducted in an unorganized and casual manner. Yet since 1886—that is, during the period of the new Jewish immigration—foreign trade, via the port of Jaffa, has multiplied by five, and it has more than doubled since 1903. In 1912, it totalled over \$9,300,000. Imports exceeded exports by over \$1,575,000. The leading imports were foodstuffs (such as sugar, rice, coffee, tea), coal, oil, paper, glass, porcelain, wood and other building materials, iron and hardware, motor engines, clothing, chemicals, etc. Among the exports were oranges, olive-oil and soap, wine and other beverages, almonds, wheat, barley, etc. It is interesting to note that

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whereas wheat was exported, flour was imported, due to the fact that the milling facilities did not permit of the production of fine flour for pastry.

These articles came mostly from Russia: flour, sugar, alcohol, oil. England: coal, cotton goods. Austria: sugar, timber, ready-made clothing. France: cement, tiles. And India: wool, rice, indigo.

The greater part of the oranges exported from Jaffa by the two Jewish syndicates, *Pardess* and *Merkaz*, and by Arab dealers, were sent to Liverpool. They were packed in crates containing 144 oranges each. In 1913-1914 the two syndicates exported about 380,000 cases. Their methods of sale and distribution are worthy of note. The name of the individual planter is marked on the case, so that the net proceeds may be distributed according to quality as well as to quantity. The syndicates have obtained reduced shipping rates, and greatly increased the profits of their members, besides educating them in the use of agricultural methods and implements.

The wine exported from the Jewish villages is similarly disposed of by a co-operative association of vintners, whose distributing agency is the Carmel Wine Company, with branches in Egypt, Europe, and America. In 1913-1914 the export totalled 875,920 gallons of wines, cognacs, and liquors.

Olive-oil soap was also exported in inconsiderable quantities, as were arts and crafts articles produced at the *Bezalel* School in Jerusalem, and devotional articles fashioned by the Christian communities in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, of which large quantities were bought and taken out of the land by pilgrims and tourists.

Palestine has also its inland trade, including that between the settled and the nomad population. Whereas the Jewish settlements have numerous stores, a single store suffices for a whole group of Arab villages, so few and so primitive are the wants of the *Fellah*. The wandering tribes bring their live-stock and their produce (wool, hides, cheeses, etc.) to various centers, in particular Gaza, and barter them for coffee, sugar, and tobacco. The wheat of Transjordan was brought to Jerusalem by camel until the opening of the Haifa branch of the Hedjaz Railway; since then there has been a tendency to send it to Haifa for export. Barley was shipped from Gaza to England, where it is used in the manufacture of whiskey. Sesame is also exported.

A Forecast

It is apparent that Palestinian commerce must be built up from

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the very foundations. Its shape and dimensions will depend on external as well as internal conditions. A quickly growing population with European standards of living, devoted to agriculture and industry, will make the import and export business grow by leaps and bounds.

But the commerce of Palestine may become vaster, even world-embracing, if only the most is made of the situation of the country. Through it may flow great quantities of raw products and finished articles, west and east, north and south. It may become commercially the heart of Asia Minor, the halfway-house between the east and southeast on the one hand, and the north and west on the other. Given an energetic population and favorable political conditions, it may become, through its commercial activity, a preponderant factor in the awakening of the Orient.

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CHAPTER XXXI

JEWISH EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

Jewish Nationalism and Education

When the Jewish people lost their national soil, their substitute was a national education. Hence with the Jews education has not been one of the issues of national life. It has itself been the heart and center of national existence. So one cannot speak of Jewish education growing up among the Jewish settlers of Palestine, because Jewish education was the cause of their settlement.

The Religious Schools—Hedarim, Talmud Torahs, Yeshivot

For centuries—ever since the dispersion—Jews have gone to Palestine to study there. The purpose of Jewish settlement was to keep aflame the torch of Jewish learning. Hence the Old Settlement is conditioned by its schools, and the *Halukkah* itself subsidizes its pauper communities in order that they may spend their lives in the *Yeshivot* of the Holy Land. The old system of education is wholly religious, consisting only of Bible, Talmud and later Rabbinic literature. No attention whatever is paid to such matters as health and hygiene, fresh air, play, exercise, mathematics, handicrafts or languages. The language in which Bible and Talmud are taught is almost never Hebrew, but Yiddish or Ladino (the Spanish dialect of the *Sephardic* Jews) or Arabic. In the *Hedarim* and the *Talmud Torah* School—the elementary religious schools—the teaching is unsystematic, carried on by Rabbis whose chief qualification often seems to be lack of qualification for anything else; the rooms are badly equipped and usually unsanitary, the hours are excessively long, and no provision is made for girls. Who cares whether the children are anaemic, apathetic, diseased, and dirty? The only object is to prepare Jews learned in the *Torah* until such time as the Messiah shall come; and, immediately, to prepare them for reception of the *Halukkah* pittance and for a bride with a dowry. The *Yeshivot*, where the older men also carry on their studies, are a bit of the Yiddish *Galut* transplanted to Palestine. In many cases, superstitious practices are combined with an extreme orthodoxy. The standard

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of learning is far below that in the *Yeshivot* of Russia. And the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem must always be imported. In Jerusalem alone there were before the war 17 *Yeshivot*, 22 *Talmud Torah* schools, and innumerable *Hedarim* or private schools, with about 4,000 pupils and 200 teachers. Jaffa, Safed, Hebron, Tiberias, and Haifa also have their schools of this type. And the larger colonies, such as Petah Tikvah, Rishon le-Zion, Rehovot, and Ekron, each supports a *Talmud Torah*. These schools are all of them independent of each other, often at odds, because they are supported separately by funds, although not directed, from abroad. For the same reason, it is possible for these schools to continue undisturbed side by side with the new schools that embody a different age and spirit.

In 1866, a sort of revolt from within resulted in the establishment of the *Bet Hamidrash Dorshe Zion*, known, also, because of its founder's name, as the Blumenthal School. It differed from the old schools only in making the study of a European language compulsory and in its systematic and hygienically sound management. However, even it was received with excommunication by the *Ashkenazim*, although given a welcome and used by the *Sephardim*. Of the Old *Yishub* in Palestine, the later *Ashkenazic* immigration from Eastern Europe is more fanatical and reactionary than the *Sephardic* Jews settled there since the Middle Ages, and earlier. The opposition is against every form of secular education and modernization. But gradually some of the old schools have in part modernized themselves. The *Talmud Torah* schools, *Ez Hayim* and *Meah Shearim*, are housed in fairly good buildings. And the *Sephardic Tipheret Yerushalayim* in Jerusalem, in the inner city, has its own building, the oldest school building in Jerusalem. The HoD Organization of Frankfort (for *Holland und Deutschland*) which administers the *Halukkah* from Holland and Germany, has been doing educational work in Palestine since 1909. This Orthodox organization instituted method, sanitation and order, added to the curriculum of the *Talmud Torah* the most necessary secular subjects, and established two girls' schools, in Petah Tikvah and Ekron, the former teaching domestic science.

The Alliance Schools

When Western Europe in the past century revived its interest in the Holy Land, it was natural that the more progressive sections of Jewry should wish from philanthropic motives to give the benefit of a modern Western education to the Jews of the Orient. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, organized in 1860, with a special view

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to relieving Jewish conditions in the Orient, established modern schools throughout the Near East. As the teachers, although in many cases Oriental Jews, were themselves educated in and sent out from France, it was natural that the language of instruction should be French. The first *Alliance School* in Palestine was the *Mikveh Israel* agricultural school, with its 650 acres and fine buildings near Jaffa, founded in 1870 by Charles Netter, a Jewish nationalist. Under his leadership the spirit of the school was nationalistic and Palestinian. But after his death in 1882, its policy became anti-national and anti-Hebraic. Although it was not so intended either by the leaders in Paris or by the teachers, the effect was to educate farmers, or rather, administrators and teachers, who would wish to migrate to Europe. The number of students decreased. A recent return to the policy of Jewish nationalism has tended to revive interest in the school.

The other schools of the *Alliance*, covering the seven or eight years of the elementary period, resemble the European public school. A small tuition fee is generally charged. There are many of these schools; those in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Tiberias, Saida, Safed, and Hebron number about 2,000 girls and boys (Thon, 1911). All of these schools—except perhaps the one in Jerusalem under Nissim Behar, a nationalist and Hebraist—tended to give the children a European outlook and the desire to migrate. The chief language of instruction was French, and Hebrew was used only in teaching religion and Jewish history. Where, more recently, adequate Hebrew teaching prevailed, the teachers were paid not by the *Alliance*, but by other Jewish nationalist organizations. The French schools in the villages, under the Rothschild administration, have been superseded by the Hebrew *Bet Hasefer*. The anti-national and assimilationist tendency of the *Alliance* schools caused them to lose the confidence of Palestinian Jewry, as evidenced by the fact that during the last ten or fifteen years the number of pupils in these schools has either decreased or remained stationary, despite the large increase of Jews in Palestine.

However, the *Alliance* has done a great service to Jewish education in Palestine. It first introduced European methods of instruction and management, and it first emphasized the need of industrial education. As early as 1882 it opened a trade school in Jerusalem for carpentry, cabinet-making, wood-carving, weaving and dyeing, and machine construction, and for training blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and locksmiths. The instruction was excellent. But through the anti-national spirit of the school, it failed to retain a hold on the industrial life of Jerusalem.

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A school similar to the *Alliance* schools, but where English has taken the place of French as the chief language of instruction, is the Evelina de Rothschild School for girls in Jerusalem, belonging to the Anglo-Jewish Association. However, more time is allotted to Hebrew than in the *Alliance* schools, and the strong religious tone of the instruction has won on the whole the confidence of the *Sephardim* and also of the *Ashkenazim*, yet the Anglicizing tendency presented the same danger as in all the philanthropic schools. The school has had as many as 650 pupils. Its courses in domestic science are especially good.

The Hilfsverein Schools

The *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* (or *Ezra*), established in Germany in 1901, was a rival of the *Alliance* in fostering Jewish education in the Orient. Its attitude at first was in opposition to the anti-national policy of the *Alliance*, and its tendency was toward greater Hebraization. Its schools were also better equipped and managed than those of the *Alliance*. Its greatest service has been the creation of a series of Hebrew-speaking kindergartens (*gannim*). In them toddlers from every element of the Jewish population, speaking Ladino, Yiddish, Arabic, Persian and a medley of other tongues, were welded into a unit by the use of Hebrew. The *Hilfsverein* created a network of excellent schools, elementary and advanced. Its standard elementary school was the *Laemelschule* in Jerusalem, for boys and girls, an old German foundation with beautiful buildings, the earliest modern Jewish school established in Palestine, in 1856. Its first director was the pioneer in Hebrew, Dr. Frankl. The school was taken over by the *Ezra* in 1911. Besides these and other elementary schools in the cities and colonies, it had a teachers' seminary, a course for kindergartners, a seminary for Rabbis, and a commercial school, all in Jerusalem, and all of these had evening extension and continuation classes. The *Ezra* taught, in all, 3,000 pupils and employed 150 teachers. In its higher schools the language of instruction was German, and progressively less attention was paid to Hebrew. A gradual change was clearly noticeable both to teachers and pupils from the original Hebraic to a Germanizing policy.

The Bet Hasefer in the Villages

All of these foreign schools, unconscious tools of a political propaganda, instead of unifying the Jewish population, helped to divide it. Children of the same family spoke different languages, according to the schools they attended.

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In the meanwhile, another system of schools—if anything in this medley could be called system—was growing up alongside of these foreign philanthropic foundations. It was the national Hebrew school system springing out of the life of the New *Yishub*. Its impetus was not philanthropy, but national self-realization. And this difference was reflected in its whole spirit.

These schools are thoroughly Hebraic—Hebrew in all of them is the language of instruction—and are a free expression of national Jewish life. The Turkish Government of course made no decent provision for schooling. The schools of the Arabs are beneath criticism. Besides this, they are of course exclusively religious (Mohammedan). Though in most cases the subsidizing of the Jewish national schools was from abroad, it was such as to leave them complete freedom of action. The Odessa Committee, or *Hoveve Zion*, has since 1902, at the instance of Ahad Ha-am, devoted 25 to 30 per cent. of its income to national education in Palestine, and its fundamental principle is "freedom of instruction". Once its schools are delivered into competent hands, it ceases to interfere with their curricula. The *Bet Hasefer*, or national Hebrew school, was inevitable in the New *Yishub*, where the *Heder* of the *Galut* could no longer satisfy, and the French school of the philanthropic régime was out of touch with the new national spirit. An abortive attempt to establish a Hebrew school was made by Israel Belkind in Jaffa as early as 1888. It failed for lack of funds. Soon afterwards Hebrew national primary schools began to be established in many of the Jewish villages. Thirteen of these schools were in large part rather liberally supported by the Jewish Colonization Association (I. C. A.), and seven were more meagrely supported by the Odessa Committee. Although the I. C. A. was not nationalistic, it wisely refrained from interference, and in fact, if not in principle, allowed as much freedom of instruction as the Odessa Committee. Two villages, Rishon le-Zion and Rehobot, wholly support their own schools. These co-educational village schools were nominally independent of each other, and many of them are still lacking in system and weak in efficient teachers, but nevertheless the spirit is remarkable. The teachers are self-sacrificing young people, usually Russian intellectuals, living on a mere pittance. A religious spirit pervades the schools, despite much difficulty in achieving a form of religious instruction. The life of the villages is reflected in the schools; they close at noon on Fridays and are closed on all minor holidays, such as *Hamisha Asar Bishevat* and *Lag Ba'omer*, and they make provision for vacations at vintage time.

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Hebrew is of course the language of instruction, but Arabic is taught in them all. Other subjects common to all are Hebrew, prayers, drawing, Jewish history, singing, gymnastics, and sewing. Arithmetic in some schools is taught only as far as fractions, in others as far as compound interest. The teaching of natural science is in most of them still very deficient, owing to a lack of competent teachers and of Hebrew text-books.

Agudat Hamorim

Although the schools are nominally independent of each other, in fact a unitary system of education has been developing since 1903, when Ussischkin, as representing the Odessa Committee, called a conference of teachers in Zichron Ya-acob at the time of the *Kenessiah*, who organized themselves into the *Agudat Hamorim* or Teachers' Association. Since then their task has been to standardize the village school system, to certificate teachers and to prepare Hebrew text-books. They have accomplished remarkable results under great handicaps. It is noteworthy that in Palestine all the national Hebrew schools have been organized and are run by committees of parents and teachers. The *Merkaz Hamorim*, the Executive Committee of the *Agudat Hamorim*, which is in part supported by the Odessa Committee, also publishes two Hebrew periodicals, *Ha-hinuch*, a bi-monthly, edited by Dr. N. Turof and devoted to pedagogy, and *Moledet*, a monthly for children. It is also responsible for the publishing society *Kohelet*, which issues the Hebrew text-books.

Hebrew Schools in the Towns

In the cities, a number of excellent primary and secondary Hebrew national schools have developed, among them the *Bet Sefer le-Banot*, Girls' School, in Jaffa, which is an outgrowth of the first attempt by Israel Belkind. With it are associated a manual training school and a teachers' seminary, all supported—except for small tuition fees—by the Odessa Committee, and housed in very fine buildings with a large playground.

In Jaffa, too, is the Hebrew high school, the *Gymnasia Ivrit Herzlia* (co-educational), founded in 1904, which is so far the crown of the whole Hebrew educational system. Since 1909, it is housed in an impressive building, the pride of Tel Aviv, at the head of Herzl Street. The splendid building was given by Alderman Moser, Mayor of Bradford, England, in response to an appeal from a parents' committee in Jaffa and from Mr. Sheinkin, Dr. Mossinsohn and other

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Palestinian educators. The *Gymnasium* was created to meet an urgent need, for previously Jewish parents in Palestine had sent their children abroad for their higher education. When the war broke out, the *Gymnasium* had 900 students from all parts of the world. The subjects taught are Hebrew, Bible, *Talmud*, mathematics, natural science, Jewish history, ancient and modern, geography, general and commercial, drawing, bookkeeping, French, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, singing, gymnastics—all through the medium of Hebrew. The emphasis is on outdoor subjects, gymnastics and general vigor, in contrast to the Ghetto spirit, and as in all the national schools, excursions are part of the school's regular activity. The programs carried tend to be rather heavy, class hours varying from 39 to 43 per week. Much time is devoted to the study of the Bible, *Talmud*, prayers and ritual law from a literary, historical and national point of view, but religious instruction as such is avoided. The graduates of the *Gymnasium* have been accepted without examination by the leading universities of America and Europe.

Jerusalem would seem the most suitable spot for the first Hebrew high school in Palestine. However, the more progressive and well-to-do Jewish community of Jaffa was better able to support it. In Jerusalem there is also a co-educational *Gymnasia Ivrit*, organized on the same lines in 1908, but inadequately supported with only a few over 100 students and with no building of its own.

The *Mizrahi* (see Ch. XV) have also organized several national Hebrew schools in Palestine, along Orthodox and Rabbinic lines. The largest is the *Tahkemoni* in Jaffa, which aspires to the status of a high school. This school is only for boys, and most of the pupils come from among the poor. After years of struggle, it has recently been well supported—until the war—by the *Mizrahists* of Frankfort, Germany. Another *Mizrahi* school is the *Heder Torah* of Jerusalem.

Special and Technical Schools

A number of special schools have been created by various agencies to further art, science, agriculture and handicrafts. There are several orphanages in Jerusalem, supported from abroad, which aspire to the standard of schools. A few of them are very good; others are extremely questionable in methods and results. In Jerusalem there is a *Bet Hamelachah*, dressmaking school, for girls; there are the needle lace work schools of the *Verband juedischer frauen* in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Safed, and Tiberias, where about 400 girls are taught and employed; and the Nathan Straus workshops, established in 1913, for teaching the unskilled to make pearl buttons and trinkets.

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Music conservatories, called *Shulammit* Schools, in Jaffa and Jerusalem, besides their direct educational work, influence musical taste by arranging concerts and occasionally issuing collections of old and new songs.

It should not be forgotten that singing is compulsory in all the schools. Music in Palestine seems as necessary as breathing. Wherever one goes, in field and street, Hebrew songs are heard, the new happy Hebrew melodies of the Jewish revival.

The thoroughly Zionist *Bezalel* School of Arts and Crafts was founded in 1906 by Boris Schaz, artist and Zionist, who won Herzl's hearty support for the project. The beautiful buildings on the outskirts of Jerusalem are built on National Fund ground. Applied art is taught, and the students are paid for their work. In 1912, 430 persons were employed by the school, who earned \$27,000, whereas the sale of the products amounted to \$50,000. The subjects taught are carpet-weaving, filigree silver work, beaten copper and brass work, carving, lithography, lace-making, etc. In co-operation with the National Fund, an industrial settlement of Yemenites has been established at Ben Shamen, where filigree silver work and rug-weaving are supplemented by truck-farming. The beginnings of a truly Jewish art have already been created. The school has a museum of Palestinian natural objects. Palestinian scenes and the letters of the Hebrew alphabet have become the themes of design. Through this means, many from the Old *Yishub* have been taught the dignity of independence and the value of the love of beauty. The products show excellent workmanship and have unique artistic value; they are appreciated abroad, where there have been wide sales and numerous exhibitions.

Agricultural Schools

The provision for agricultural training, which is of supreme importance, is still wholly inadequate. The *Mikveh Israel* school has the plant which may one day serve the purpose. The Petah Tikvah Agricultural School, founded in 1912, is theoretical rather than practical in its teaching. An interesting experiment that for the time being has failed for lack of funds was the agricultural school *Kiryat Sefer* founded by Israel Belkind for the education of the Kishinef orphans. And at Kinneret, near the Lake of Tiberias, is the very practical farm school for girls founded by the *Verband juedischer Frauen fuer Kulturarbeit in Palaestina*. This is an excellent institution, giving

an all round training to the city girl as a future farmer's wife or independent farmer.

Not a school, and yet most important as an educational institution, is the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Athlit, near Zichron Ya-acob. It owes its existence to American Jews, and was incorporated in 1910 in New York State. Its purpose is to further scientific methods of farming in Palestine. A remarkably complete *herbarium* of Palestine had been collected before the war (unfortunately destroyed), and many successful experiments have been tried with the raising of cacti for purposes of fodder, fencing, etc. And Mr. Aaron Aaronsohn, managing director, discovered in Palestine the original wild wheat, growing in arid regions, and by its cross-fertilization and other experiments in dry farming it may add much to the world's possibilities of wheat-growing in dry countries. A great deal is to be expected from the Experiment Station.

The Language Struggle and the National Hebrew Schools

In 1913 the projected *Polytechnicum* at Haifa was the cause of a language struggle between the *Hilfsverein* with its Germanizing tendencies and the now thoroughly Hebraized Jewish population. (See Ch. XXXII.) The *Polytechnicum*, whose building was erected on National Fund ground, was to be jointly financed and managed by the *Hilfsverein*, by numerous nationalist organizations and by individuals. When the *Hilfsverein* took its uncompromising attitude on the question of German as the language of instruction, there was not only a break in the Board of Trustees, but a general and spontaneous revolt of a large majority of both pupils and teachers in all the *Hilfsverein* schools. This heroic action made it incumbent upon the Zionist Organization to carry the burden of the new schools that were organized in order to replace those of the *Hilfsverein*. The new nationalist schools were established throughout the villages and cities. In order to take firm hold of the situation, the *Merkez Hamorim* then organized the *Va-ad Ha-hinuch*, or Board of Education, which has functioned ever since. These new schools grew rapidly, attracting broad sections of the population, Orthodox *Ashkenazim*, *Sephardim*, Yemenites, etc., who had held aloof from the semi-Hebrew schools of the *Hilfsverein*. Also they counteracted, more than any of the previous Jewish schools, the dangerous attractions of the Christian missionary schools in the cities, which had alienated hundreds of Jewish children. In Haifa a technical high school was opened to prepare boys and girls for the *Polytechnicum* whenever that should become a reality—a Hebrew reality.

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Since the War—A National School Board

The war found the new national school system still very new. One of the marvels of Palestine's reaction to the war has been the stubborn resolve to keep the schools open at any cost. Often that included feeding and caring for the children. Many teachers were banished. Funds failed to arrive. The whole Jewish population of Jaffa and part of that of Jerusalem were banished to Northern Palestine. Among the refugees' camps the *Va-ad Ha-hinuch* established schools. When the Weizmann Commission arrived in Palestine, it found a thoroughly Zionist Board of Education to deal with. Zionist funds for subsidizing all Jewish schools in Palestine are administered by this Board, and all the schools are being subsidized, but on two conditions: that Hebrew be the language of instruction and that there be a certain standard of hygiene and sanitation. The buildings of the *Hilfsverein* will probably pass to the new schools, and every effort is being made by the Commission, seemingly with the co-operation of all sections of Jewry, to organize a unified national Hebrew school system in Palestine.

The Hebrew University

A Hebrew university at Jerusalem had been dreamed of and written of for many years. Just before the war, in 1913, the eleventh Zionist Congress brought that dream near realization. Through the efforts of Dr. Weizmann, Ussischkin and others, a large fund was raised, ground was given for the building on Mount Scopus, near the Mount of Olives, overlooking Jerusalem and the Jordan valley, and much preparatory work was done. The Hebrew University has come to be almost a symbol of Jewish renationalization, of spiritual rebirth. It stands as the spiritual rallying point of Israel. Chaim Weizmann proclaimed that to all the world by making one of his first political acts in Palestine, on July 24, 1918, the laying of the corner-stone of the Hebrew University.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE HEBREW REVIVAL IN PALESTINE

Eliezer Ben Yehudah

That Hebrew should have become the language of the Jews in Palestine was probably inevitable. Now, after the event, we can see that only Hebrew could have unified the Jews from all ends of the world who brought with them a multiplicity of languages. Still, as in most cases where a great movement is initiated, one person was responsible for the creation of modern Hebrew speech in Palestine. This pioneer, Eliezer Ben Yehudah, did as great a work in his way as Theodor Herzl. He was born in Russia in 1858. Before he had reached the age of twenty he had passed through the spiritual adventures of a *Maskil* and of a Nihilist. His love of the Hebrew language culminated in Jewish nationalism. And when this conviction came upon him, he realized that the first task—at least for him—was to create or to revive the Hebrew tongue in the Jewish land. He went to Paris to study and later, in 1881, he went to Palestine, where he settled in Jerusalem. There he met the most bitter and cruel opposition on the part of the Orthodox Jewish community. In Jerusalem in those days Hebrew was not spoken. There was a babel of tongues, chiefly Yiddish among the *Ashkenazim* and Ladino or a Spanish-Jewish jargon among the *Sephardim*. Ben Yehudah was not an Orthodox Jew. He was looked upon by these people not only as a fool and a silly dreamer, but as an impostor and even a *meshumad*. He was excommunicated again and again and yet he remained. Despite great physical weakness—for he was suffering from lung trouble—his mental strength and his iron will carried him through all adversities. He lived in a cellar with his wife, whom he had married with the understanding that only Hebrew was to be spoken in their home. He managed to become editor of a Hebrew weekly, and he gathered about him a group of enthusiasts. So bitter was the feeling against him that when his first wife died, there was a protest against burying her in the Jewish cemetery. And at one time he was thrown into prison by the Turkish authorities through the machinations of his Jewish enemies.

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Early Struggles to Develop Hebrew Speech—The Kindergartens

But in the end he triumphed. As the new Jewish settlement grew up about him, he was the center of the Hebraic movement. Other individuals took upon them the same pledge to speak only Hebrew in their households. Dr. Frankl, the first director of the *Laemelschule*, had already done so. Gradually, Hebrew-speaking clubs grew up. For instance, there were the Palestine *B'ne B'rit* lodges, which made it a principle to speak only Hebrew at their meetings and gatherings. Some of these societies fined their members for a lapse into any other language. But the chief strength of the Hebraic movement was the school children. In the older days each school, founded by persons from a different European nation, had a different language of instruction, and the babel was hopeless. Now there grew up the Hebrew kindergartens where children between the ages of three and six learned to speak and sing and play in Hebrew even before they could read. They took home their language, and so it began in fact to become a mother tongue. The mothers learned from their children. The method used was the *Ivrit be-Ivrit*. By this method young children were taught Hebrew, not through translation, but by a systematic use of Hebrew itself with the help of charts and objects.

Va-ad Halashon—Millon—School Teaching

So, gradually, the life in the villages became Hebraic. All the various populations were molded into one by their common speech. And the few enthusiasts in Jerusalem who gave their whole time to the development of the tongue kept it to its purity. Hebrew drama grew up and it was the only drama in the country. There was organized in Jerusalem the *Va-ad Halashon*, or language committee, with Ben Yehudah at its head, to pass upon all words, and, in case of necessity, to create new words. Here the teachers used to meet and to bring their problems. Often it was little children who gave new forms to the language. These forms were discussed by the *Va-ad* and standardized. New word forms were created from words found throughout Hebrew literature and from words found on some of the inscriptions which had been brought to light by excavations in Palestine and neighboring countries in recent years. Meanwhile Ben Yehudah was working on his *Millon*—or Hebrew dictionary—a vast work in many volumes which is not yet completed. After he had done many years of work upon it, he found several backers among some of the German Jews who were not Zionists, but who appreciated

his labors. Academic work and practical development went hand in hand. At the same time that the *Millon* was being written, there were created Hebrew nursery songs and folk songs. In the life of Jewish children in Palestine, the Bible was no longer a dead book, a dry subject for study, but an intensely interesting account of their own history in their own land. Thus the whole method was changed in Jewish religious teaching. It became vitally modern.

Libraries, Reading Rooms and Publications

Libraries grew up in Jerusalem. There was the Jewish National Library, founded there by Dr. Joseph Chasanovitz. The books had been turned over to the ownership of the Jewish National Fund. In 1910 there were 34,200 books and 20,549 visits to the library. Most of the Jewish villages and all of the Jewish town settlements also have libraries and reading rooms. Usually these are situated in the *Bet Ha-am*, the people's house, which is the club house of the community. In the streets one sees everywhere Hebrew signs and advertisements and street names. There were a number of Hebrew newspapers, practically all of which were forced because of the war to suspend publication, but will no doubt soon resume; *Ha-or* and *Ha-herut* are dailies; *Ha-ahdut*, a weekly, is the organ of the *Poale-Zion*, and *Hapoel Hazair*, a semi-monthly, was at first a workmen's paper, representing the organization by that name, but is now the organ of the New Settlement in general. *Ha-meassef* is a monthly magazine; *Ha-haklai* is the agricultural journal of the Union of Judaeen Colonies. Besides these there are the educational journals, *Ha-hinuch* and *Moledet*. And recently, since the British occupation, there is a Hebrew paper under British auspices, *Hadashot Ha-aretz*, "The Palestine News". Naturally there is need for the numerous Hebrew publishing houses.

The Language Struggle.

In 1913 the Hebraic development of Palestine was put to its severest test, and it made good. For some years previous the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*, which began by teaching Hebrew and using Hebrew as the language of instruction in most of its schools, had gradually changed its policy and inaugurated a process of Germanization. One cannot help suspecting that, consciously or unconsciously, these schools were an instrument of German politics. In 1913, the project was launched for a technical college in Haifa. A good part of the money for this project was given by the Wissotski family of Moscow, and another sum by the *Hilfsverein*. A large share

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was also contributed by wealthy American Jews. Ahad Ha-am and Dr. Schmarya Levin were among the trustees of the fund. Dr. Levin went to Palestine and busied himself with the initial work. The land was given by the Jewish National Fund. When Dr. Levin was in Palestine, he noticed the attitude taken there toward Hebrew by the heads of the *Hilfsverein* schools. Therefore he immediately asked for a definition from the *Hilfsverein* of their attitude in regard to Hebrew in the new *Technicum*. Their reply was decidedly disappointing; they refused to make Hebrew the language of instruction. At a meeting where none of the American trustees was present, the *Hilfsverein* managed to have a vote passed in favor of Germanization. Thereupon the Zionist members of the board, Ahad Ha-am, Dr. Levin, and Dr. J. Tchlenow, resigned. Tremendous excitement was created in Palestine itself. The *Merkaz Hamorim* protested against the action of the *Hilfsverein*. Their protests went unheeded. Many of the protesting teachers were shut out from the *Hilfsverein* schools, among them David Yellin, one of the oldest workers for the Hebrew revival, who had been a Hebrew teacher in Palestine for 25 years, and who is a writer and educator of high attainments. With the teachers went the children, and there was a strike in which the greater number of teachers and students left the *Hilfsverein* schools. Demonstrations were held in many cities. The children marched through the streets, singing Hebrew songs and carrying banners. Then it was that Ben Yehudah endangered the publication of his *Millon* by standing firmly with the young generation whose leader he had been. The Zionist Organization stood behind the children and the teachers, and so did the whole New *Yishub*. The new national schools were created at that time and the children and teachers went over to them in a body. Those who had had scholarships in the *Hilfsverein* schools were henceforth supported by collections among the teachers and pupils. The Zionist Organization took upon itself the budget for the new schools, which was a departure from its previous policy; and the budget thus assumed amounted to nearly \$31,000. It was the first step in that national education which, since the war, the Zionists have proved themselves ready to assume for the whole of Palestine.

The Hebrew University

One might almost say that the victory of the school children was the first victory in the Great War, even though it preceded the war by a year. That the laying of the corner-stone of the Hebrew University by Dr. Weizmann was one of the first acts of the Zionist

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Commission, emphasized the importance to the Zionists of the Hebraic movement. The agitation for a Hebrew University dates back to the early days of Zionism. Dr. Hermann Schapira, originator of the Jewish National Fund, first proposed it. Later the idea was taken up by many others, not only Zionists, and all agreed that the University must be Hebrew in every sense, using Hebrew as the language of instruction, yet for some time it seemed possible that it might have to be founded elsewhere than in Palestine. At the eleventh Zionist Congress, in 1913, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who as professor in the University of Manchester, has a deep interest in democratic education, presented a report on the founding of the university in Jerusalem. Mr. Ussischkin was also active in urging the project. At the congress \$90,000 was subscribed to further the work. Later, a commission of the Actions Committee procured a tract of land on Mt. Scopus. And so the work was ready to begin. Large funds have since been given, among them \$25,000 by Mr. Jacob Schiff, and the site was donated by Isaac Goldberg, a Russian Jew. Thus Dr. Weizmann in laying the corner-stone only carried out the mandate of the the Zionist Organization. Quite apart from the value of the Hebrew University to Jews all over the world—a value which we need not discuss here—it will fill a large place in the practical life of a revitalized Palestine. No doubt its first faculties will be scientific. Here, too, there will be a center for Hebraic study. So we will be training at once our own physicians and engineers, our own teachers and Hebraists.

Within forty years a language has been recreated. What sacrifices went into that work it is almost impossible to imagine. Fortunately Ben Yehudah, despite his physical weakness, has had the strength to outlive all the vicissitudes of life, including political persecution and exile during the war, and has seen the fulfillment in one lifetime of his almost prophetic vision of the Hebrew revival.

References:

A Hebrew University for Jerusalem, by H. Sacher. *The German Attack on the Hebrew Schools in Palestine*, by Israel Cohen. *Palestine and the Hebrew Revival*, by E. Miller.

Subjects for Papers:

The story of the *Technicum* and the language struggle. Characteristics of the Hebrew language.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON THE JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE*

The Danger Foreseen

On *Tisha B'ab* of the year 5674 (August 1, 1914), news of the war reached those in Palestine. Although all believed at the time that the war would not last very long, still they immediately realized that even a short duration could bring evil effects upon Palestine, and that they must prepare in order to tide over the crisis.

Through the initiative of the Zionist element, a united meeting of the city committee (*Va-ad Ha-ir*) of Tel-Aviv and Jaffa took place that very day; a few days later, representatives from the Jewish villages and from Jerusalem also came together; and a united committee for the whole of Palestine was formed.

The following dangers were foreseen:

(1) The ports would be closed; it would be impossible to export for sale the products of the Jewish villages (wine, almonds, oranges, etc.), the main support of the farmers.

(2) It would be impossible for goods to come in; everything would become expensive; there would be no coal and no oil for operating the machines, the irrigation plants for the farms, and the few factories that were in the land.

(3) The banks would cease operation, and business would be crippled thereby.

(4) The greater part of the population of the cities, who had been dependent on the *Halukkah*, would no longer receive stipends from the warring countries, and that at a time when even the independent population would be suffering from unemployment and cessation of earning power.

(5) Under such circumstances, speculation in money and in the chief necessities of life would begin, which might be worse than even war itself.

Self-Help

In accordance with these impending needs, the work of relief was divided into various sections:

* By M. Sheinkin.

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(1) Finance Committee (*Va-ad Hakessafim*), whose duty it was to see that no crisis should arise because of clever speculation in gold and in small coins. For this purpose the Jewish Bank, the Anglo-Palestine Company, issued bank notes of over five-franc denominations, and the Committee of Tel-Aviv issued checks as low as one franc.

(2) Bread Committee (*Va-ad Halehem*), which bought wheat at a low price (especially from the farms of the National Fund and from the Jewish villages), ground it, and baked and sold bread at cost price.

(3) Store Committee (*Va-ad Hahanuyot*), which had in its own store some of the chief necessities, such as flour, sugar, various kinds of peas and beans, potatoes, coal, etc., and sold these at cost price.

(4) Merchants' Union (*Agudat Hasoharim*) was financed by the Jewish Bank, in order to be able to buy and sell goods at normal prices.

(5) Labor Committee (*Va-ad Ha-avodah*), which sought employment and means of livelihood for artisans and workingmen; money was lent to those who were capable of doing some definite kind of work (building, planting, etc.).

(6) Loan Committee (*Va-ad Hamalveh*)—To loan money, upon security, without interest.

(7) Relief Committee (*Va-ad Ha-ezarah*)—To help those who could not possibly earn their living.

All that had been foreseen came to pass, and the Jews were prepared to meet it.

Such a system of thorough organization existed in the progressive city of Jaffa. But the other cities were also well organized, having cheap soup-kitchens and cheap distribution of tea and bread. The Jewish villages did not at first need any help. The workers and artisans particularly distinguished themselves with their organization and self-help.

The first funds for the organizations were raised within Palestine itself. Everyone was taxed and each one gave more than he could afford. So, had the war really lasted only a few months, the new Jewish settlements in Palestine would have weathered the storm without outside aid.

American Aid

When Turkey entered the war in October, 1914, the people began to feel the rope tightening about their necks, and they turned to foreign Jews with an appeal for aid. The first and practically the only ones

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to answer were the American Jews in general, and the American Zionist Provisional Committee in particular. There is no doubt that, were it not for this American help, the old Jewish settlements in Palestine would have been wiped out. Even the new Jewish villages would have been unable to continue their productive work, had it not been for the aid of America; the gardens and fields could be worked only through the loans from American funds; the Jewish bank was able to make small payments to its depositors only because of the money that used to come from America. From these funds employment was also created for the workmen and artisans. The schools were likewise maintained by the American budget. Foodstuffs that came on the ship *Vulcan* also had a certain effect, probably because almost half was distributed among the non-Jewish population.

During the course of the first year, the American moneys used to come directly in gold through American ships. Later, however, the money came in Turkish notes, which were exchanged for one-third or even a smaller fraction of their face value in gold. Still, this little money served to help uphold life.

Economic Oppression

With the entry of Turkey into the war, new economic troubles began, and even political persecution. Turkey knew of no such thing as a war loan. Aside from the money that flowed in from Germany, the only source of Government revenue consisted in requisitions of products, cattle, horses, and labor. In the cities all sorts of goods were taken, from flour and sugar, wood and iron, to silk stockings. In the Jewish villages tin was taken from the roofs, wire from the gates, and pipes and engines from the irrigation plants. Fear and disorder probably created more hardship at this stage than did the damage itself. The Jewish villagers suffered to a greater extent also because they had better cattle, utensils and wagons than their Arab neighbors. The men were called for military service; they were able at first to buy their freedom legally with money. Eventually, however, they had to go into the service and endure the terrible conditions in the Turkish army, where the soldiers suffered hunger, cold, uncleanness and exposure to disease. People felt the approach of a terrible storm. Nevertheless, there was a grim determination on the part of the Jewish inhabitants to remain in the country and to guard the Jewish possessions. Thousands of Jews, subjects of foreign countries, even took advantage of the Porte's permission to become naturalized, just so that they might remain in Palestine.

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All the tourists fled in the last of the European ships. Thousands of the older Jews, who knew that they could receive no money from abroad, left the country for Egypt. Some of the younger people, fearing to be left without work, also went away. But the greater number of those Jews who were able to work remained. Practically all the teachers stayed, and not one of the villagers left the country of his own free will. So attached had they become to the land, that they decided to share its bitter lot.

Political Persecution

Toward the end of 1914, Djemal Pasha came to Palestine, and then began the political persecution of the Zionists. Upon his first arrival in Jerusalem he called out twenty-five Zionist representatives. This time he only threatened them, and the punishment meted out was light: A few of the Zionists were sent out of the Jerusalem district.

After this, false reports were circulated to the effect that the Jewish villages possessed hidden arms. But nothing of the sort could be proven.

Djemal Pasha gave stringent orders against Zionist insignia: The flag, the *shekel*, National Fund Stamps. Investigations were begun, and the leaders in Zionist work were arrested. He did not impose heavy penalties, but he did begin to expel them, singly and in groups, some being sent to Asia Minor, and the rest deported.

It was thought that this action would cool the anger of Djemal Pasha. He even promised to live in peace and harmony with the remaining Zionists. It is true he insisted that the Porte would not allow any more Jews into Palestine. But after all, at that time it was merely a question of pulling through to the end of the war.

Locusts

Then another trouble came from an altogether different quarter. Locusts, which come so rarely to Palestine, and which had not shown themselves in the course of the previous forty years, appeared just at this time (in the summer of 1915) in such vast numbers that they covered the whole face of the land, particularly in Judaea, where the Jewish plantations are situated. As is their custom, the adult locusts laid their eggs, and although the Jewish farmers tried all possible methods of prevention, the Arabian population was not so careful. The best chemicals for fighting the locusts could not be brought from Europe, and like overflowing rivers the young locusts flooded the land and

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devoured everything in field and garden. All the energy and the last penny of the Jewish settlers went into the unsuccessful fight. The work in fields and gardens had to be begun all over again; still more energy and still greater expenditures had to be forthcoming. This could not possibly have been accomplished at the time had it not been for the new loans that were made by the American Zionists to the Jewish farmers. This saved the day. Employment was created for the people, and the gardens again began to bloom and to bear.

Disease

Comparatively, the winter of 1915-1916 passed peacefully but not without much want. During the summer the results of the proximity of the Turkish army began to show themselves. Epidemics of spotted fever (typhus), dysentery, etc., broke out. The physicians were away in the army, there was no medicine. A consignment of drugs which had been sent from America was roaming somewhere on the high seas, because permission to deliver it in Palestine could not be had. Unfortunately, the stout souls of our pioneers dwelt in weakened bodies, and the number of victims was enormous. Still they made no complaints. They suffered in silence, and they remained in their beloved homeland.

New Persecutions

The next winter (1916-1917) the epidemics waned somewhat, but the economic situation became unbearable. One could buy practically nothing with the little money that was coming in Turkish paper notes from America. The few remaining cattle and all other wealth and possessions were taken away from the Jewish farmers for the use of the army; there was nothing with which to plow and nothing to sow. The men were again being called for military service, although they had bought their freedom several times over, and conditions in the army became unspeakable. Men perished from need and disease even before they had the opportunity to go to battle.

When we read the descriptions of those times we wonder how people could have lived through them at all.

The laborers would under no circumstances leave the Jewish fields and gardens; the teachers, especially, would not abandon the last ray of hope, their schools. Hungry, half naked and barefooted, they would steal their way to the schools to do their work, where each time they found fewer children, more naked ones and more orphans.

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Whenever the Turkish officials found those who had hidden or fled from military service, they would torment and torture them in the most brutal manner and would confine them in the vile Turkish dungeons. These persecutions brought the whole population into a state of despondency and despair. The only hope was that England might soon take possession of the land and redeem them from this hell. Even though the Turkish Government had no concrete proof of this state of mind, it still realized where the sympathy of the Jewish settlers must lie. This vexed Turkey all the more, and the persecutions became more intense and all but unendurable.

The Expulsion from Jaffa

In March, 1917, when the British army approached nearer to the Palestinian border, the order was given by the Turkish Government that all the Jews were to be expelled from Jaffa. Thousands of Jews who had aroused suspicion were sent out of Jerusalem also. The Jews at the village of Jehudieh were allowed to remain, but their cattle and much of their wealth were taken away from them.

The Jewish villages in Galilee sent all their horses and wagons to bring the expelled Jews up to them. The Turkish Government used this as an excuse, and seized all the horses and wagons. Some of the Jews were taken away in typhus-infested wagons; thousands wandered about on foot, thousands remained, sick and in need, in the neighboring Jewish villages of Petah Tikvah, Kfar Saba, and Hederah.

Living under the open sky, half clothed, they managed somehow or other to pull through the summer, but winter (1917-1918) with its rain and snow came again, and need and hunger overwhelmed them.

And the nearer the British approached, the more suspicious did the Turks become of the Jews. They were charged with treason; arrests, executions, and expulsions daily grew in number. It was felt that the last ounce of energy was exhausted, that all the Jewish settlements were doomed to destruction.

Liberation by Great Britain

Like a message from heaven came the British Declaration on the second of November, 1917. This, however, only served still further to infuriate the Turkish officials, and there was great fear that they would wreak vengeance upon the Jews.

But at the same time began the victories of the British army in Palestine. The march from Gaza to Jaffa lasted only a few weeks. Ten days later, on the first day of *Hanukkah* (5678), Jerusalem was also

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free. The village of Petah Tikvah found itself a "no man's land" for some time, and was almost ruined by shell fire; * but in a short time it, too, was freed. In this way, the two most important cities and about fifteen Jewish villages in Judaea began to breathe freely. Life became secure; people returned to their normal activities. The British military officials were helpful and friendly; they provided the Jewish villages with animals and seed and made trade with Egypt possible. The population even found a livelihood in working for the army itself. The British officials, on account of the international rules of military occupation, were as yet unable to abolish the existing Turkish laws; they did, however, remove the abuse and misuse of them. And then it became possible again to work and to live.

The Jews, however, were not satisfied with mere economic salvation. They began immediately to give attention to their spiritual interests and to their political organization, in order to make the rebuilding of the national homeland possible. With hearts broken over the fate of the greater part of Palestine, which had not yet been freed, the liberated cities and villages gradually organized their communal and cultural institutions and began to prepare themselves for the future independent national life. Every act of theirs showed that they still realized what they had been hoping for and for what cause they had suffered so much.

The Weizmann Commission

In the true sense of the word, however, new life began only when the Weizmann Commission arrived (in April, 1918). In itself the act of sending the Zionist Commission proved that England was sincere in her Declaration. Every deed of the Commission was a step nearer the glorious goal. Zionism, in the form of the Commission, seemed to be a ruling and a regulating power and a creative force. Aid, reconstructive work, and the management of the cities, the villages, the schools, etc.,—everything was normalized through Zionist help according to the Zionist ideal. Dr. Weizmann did much toward unifying the Jewish population, especially in Jerusalem, in a way never before possible. The Hebrew language was recognized by all as predominant in accordance with the outspoken Zionist purpose. The pinnacle of the important work of the Commission was the laying of the cornerstone of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on the fifteenth day of Ab (July 24, 1918). The historic hour had struck. It was the official

* Ain Gannim and Kfar Saba also suffered great damage. In the latter, which stood in a grove, not one tree was left standing.—Editor.

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notification to all elements of the local population and to the great world outside that the Jewish nation was laying the foundation for a national existence in its historic home.

The Weizmann Commission also paved the way, by its direct action, for a mutual understanding with the neighboring populations in Palestine, especially with the Arabs, for an harmonious, neighborly life, and a common effort toward the new culture of the old Orient.

The Medical Unit

Even though the political elements of the Weizmann Commission were at first recruited entirely from among European Jews, the American Zionists participated by furnishing the greater part of the necessary funds. The American Jews also contributed a very important factor at this time in the form of the Zionist Medical Unit, which, through its forty-five doctors and nurses and with its tons and tons of medicines and clothes, brought to the country much needed medical and sanitary aid. They helped to clothe and tend the pitiable refugees who, sore, sick, and almost naked, came down in hundreds after the final conquest of northern Palestine.

The Jewish Battalion

That the Jewish population of Palestine was ready for the new freedom was attested especially through the formation there of a Jewish battalion. One would think that after so many terrible trials and hardships the Jews of Palestine might have taken advantage of their liberation to seek some rest. But on the contrary, hundreds of Jewish youths and older men who had just come out of their dungeons and from their hiding places in cellars, joined the Legion with fiery enthusiasm, in order to fight for the complete liberation of Palestine. Even women were anxious to join, and vehemently resented the prejudice which exists against their going to war. It was a tragic, solemn moment when the new Maccabaeans lifted the Jewish flag with the emblem of a lion tearing off his shackles, and went away to fight side by side with the British soldiers. There seemed a mystic significance in the fact that the younger Rothschild, son of that great Jew who saved the first pioneers in Palestine from ruin, was now leading the new pioneers who were going to give their lives for their homeland.

Complete Emancipation

The fifth Feast of Tabernacles, 5679 (September, 1918) of the war, saw the last of slavery and the first of freedom. During the course

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of the few days of *Sukkot*, the victorious British army swept northward and eastward in a most remarkable drive and liberated all of Palestine east of the Jordan and even beyond the Lebanon. The Jewish Legionnaires were fortunate enough to take part in the drive. The whole of Palestine was opened for the new Jewish life. Tired and exhausted, the exiles and wanderers are now returning. The shadow of sadness caused by the many who are missing is the one cloud over the happiness of those who meet once more.

Over there, the bright sun of freedom is rising and is illuminating the newly-made graves, a few ruined gardens, and a new and more fortunate era.

References:

A Palestine Packet. Reports of the Weizmann Commission. Palestine of the Jews, by Norman Bentwich, Ch. VIII, pp. 178-192, and Appendix, pp. 215-284.

Subjects for Papers:

The Jewish war refugees in Alexandria. The effects of the British occupation on Palestine.

APPENDIX I

REGARDING THE IMMUTABILITY OF JEWISH LAW

Note on Chapter XIX, by Rabbi Eugene Kohn

The statement of Mr. Amram to the effect that "neither the Jewish religious law nor the Jewish civil law can remain immutable" and that "legal unchangeableness is a legal fiction," is perhaps in need of some qualification. In the form as stated, it may rouse the apprehension of conservative Jews, lest the legal foundations of the new Zion represent a radical and even a revolutionary departure from Jewish legal tradition. When we reflect that to most religious Jews that tradition is holy and the very foundation of their religious life, and that their very Zionism has been inspired by the hope that in the New Palestine this tradition will find the opportunity for its preservation and development which are threatened in the *Galut*, we can well sympathize with these alarms. A careful examination of the adjustments of Jewish law to the conditions of the New Palestine, proposed by Mr. Amram, will, however, show that it is only his abstract statement regarding the "immutability" of the law with which the conservative Jew need take issue and not any of the concrete suggestions advanced.

For the majority of even conservative Jews do not, when they speak of the immutability of the law, mean thereby that specific laws are not susceptible of change. Talmudic and rabbinic literature are too full of records of such changes to make this position tenable. At the same time their belief in the immutability of the law as they understand it is something more than a legal fiction. What they mean is that, however individual laws may be changed in view of changed conditions, the ideal that these laws were intended to enforce remains valid. Thus the law of release in the Sabbatical year may have been virtually abrogated by the *Prosbol* of Hillel, but only because in his day the law was seen to operate against the purposes for which it was designed. Instead of protecting the poor from the exactions of their creditors it merely "shut the door" against their receiving credit. The adherent of traditional Judaism, therefore, believes that although laws may be changed, they may not be changed arbitrarily but with due reference to the principles underlying Jewish legal development in the past. In this way, despite the changes in specific laws, the spirit of Jewish law retains its distinctive character, and is, in a sense, immutable. The law of one age may differ from that of another, but only in the same manner as a man at the age of forty differs from that same man at twenty years of age. The record of life's experiences may have modified his original character in certain respects, but he is nevertheless the same man; the laws of his own development that make possible only certain reactions to these experiences assure essential spiritual identity.

If we examine the specific recommendations made by Mr. Amram we shall see that they are in no wise out of accord with the development of Jewish

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law. Take, for example, the matter of capital punishment, to the abolition of which in the New Palestine, Mr. Amram looks forward. All who are familiar with the Talmudic literature know that, in the discussion of the penal law in the Talmud, the abhorrence of capital punishment is shown by the attempt to hedge about the execution of the law with restrictive measures that would make it almost impossible to procure a verdict. For example, a capital sentence could not be passed unless the offender had, previous to having committed the crime, been specifically warned that if he committed it he would be punished by death. To be sure, these discussions are entirely theoretic, as the execution of capital sentences was not then in the jurisdiction of the Jewish courts, which is probably the reason why Mr. Amram does not refer to these discussions. But we may nevertheless regard them as evidence of the course Jewish legal development would have taken had it not been arrested by the Roman domination. Indeed, such theoretic discussions carried with them as much authority for the rabbinic courts of the middle ages and modern times as did the law that was actually put into practice.

Similarly, the changes suggested by Mr. Amram in order to adjust the law to the new status of woman in modern society would be but carrying to its logical limit the process of equalization of the rights of the sexes which is clearly discernible in the history of Jewish law. An interesting account of this development is given in Ahad Ha-am's *Judaism and the Gospels*. It is only the arrest in the development of Jewish law, incident to the Jews' being subject to the laws of other nations rather than their own, that prevented this development from reaching its logical goal, and, with the conditions for a renewal of legal development assured through the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, this tendency can be permitted to work itself out to the fullest extent without involving any disloyalty to Jewish tradition.

There can be no gainsaying that, since the development of Jewish law has suffered arrest for so many years, far-reaching changes will have to be made in order to adjust the law to modern conditions, but, if the attempt is made to keep true to the spirit of our ancient legislation, the continuity of Jewish legal tradition can be maintained, and the principles that determine the trend of Jewish legal development can still be held to be immutable. We are still the same Israel, though subjected to many changes in the course of our eventful history, and our *Torah*, though it too has been subjected to change, is still the same *Torah*, and the two are inseparable. The continuity of the Jewish Nation assures the continuity of its law, for that law is not foreign to it, but is the expression of its very soul.

APPENDIX II

TEST QUESTIONS IN THE ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS ONE FOR EACH CHAPTER

They may be used either as review questions at each meeting or at stated intervals during the term or after its completion.

- I. In what respect does Zionism differ from other solutions suggested for the Jewish Problem?
- II. Compare the condition of Jews in America to those of other lands.
- III. In how far is the prophetic ideal of nationalism embodied in Zionism?
- IV. Distinguish between the Messianism of certain periods of Jewish history and the recent Zionistic ideal.
- V. In how far did Jewish emancipation really emancipate the Jews and in how far did it fail?
- VI. What has been the effect of the modern anti-Semitic movement upon the Jews?
- VII. How could Zionism appeal to men so different in temperament and conviction as Hess, Kalischer, and Smolenskin?
- VIII. What was the value of *Hoveve* Zionism as a forerunner of Zionism, and what was the weakness which made it inadequate for its task?
- IX. In what way did Herzl change Zionism and in what way did Zionism change Herzl?
- X. What inferences as to Jewish capacity for self-government can be drawn from the organization of political Zionism?
- XI. What is likely to be the effect of the principles underlying the Jewish National Fund and the Anglo Palestine Company on the future development of Palestine?
- XII. Describe the present American form of Zionist Organization and compare it with that before the Pittsburgh Convention.
- XIII. What were the causes that led up to the British Declaration in favor of Zionism (a) British; (b) Jewish?
- XIV. What were the peculiar Jewish difficulties and problems that the war brought to American Jewry?
- XV. What are the essential points of agreement between all Zionists and what are some of the differentiations which have found group expression?
- XVI. What has been the relation of the Hebrew revival in the dispersion to the Palestinian development and what is it likely to be in the future?
- XVII. Compare the ideals of Ahad Ha-am with those of Herzl.
- XVIII. Comment on the traditional Jewish, the Reform Jewish and the Zionist interpretation of the mission of Israel.

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- XIX. What will be the problems, religious and civic, in adjusting Jewish law to the needs of the Jewish land?
- XX. What are to be the chief legal safe-guards against social injustice in Palestine?
- XXI. Describe those geographic peculiarities which differentiate Palestine from every other land?
- XXII. In what ways are human effort and ingenuity likely to change the present physical characteristics of Palestine?
- XXIII. What were the forces which operated to keep a Jewish settlement continuously in Palestine, despite the unfavorable conditions there, as compared with those in other lands?
- XXIV. What were the motives underlying the early Jewish efforts at colonization both on the part of the settlers and of the various agencies that supported their work?
- XXV. How does Jewish life in the new Jewish villages differ from Jewish life in any other part of the world?
- XXVI. Discuss the general aspects of the relation of Jews and non-Jews in Palestine and its probable economic effects.
- XXVII. What has been the effect of the *Halukkah* on Jewish life in the cities of Palestine?
- XXVIII. What have been the effects on the health conditions of Palestine of (a) its geographic position; (b) its climate; (c) its government; (d) the character of its inhabitants?
- XXIX. In view of the resources of Palestine, what is likely to be its chief industry, and why?
- XXX. Discuss the export and import trade of Palestine, past, present and future.
- XXXI. What is the relation of Jewish education in Palestine to the Jewish national revival?
- XXXII. Discuss the practical advantages for political and cultural purposes of Hebrew as the vernacular of the Palestinian Jews.
- XXXIII. Discuss the war as a test of Jewish strength in Palestine and as a test of Jewish good will in the dispersion, toward the Palestinian venture.

APPENDIX III

READING CIRCLES

The *Guide for the Student of Zionism* may be used by reading circles, a chapter being read aloud at each meeting. However, for certain groups other books may better serve the purpose, books that have more of a literary or propaganda nature. Groups which have completed the study of the *Guide* may care also to take up other courses of reading. For these purposes the following series are arranged. They are tentative, of course, and may be supplemented with other matter.

I. ZIONISM (GENERAL SURVEY)

For the first ten meetings read at each meeting, one of the *Zionist Pamphlets* (a series of ten) published by the "*Zionist*" of London, as follows:

1. Zionism and the Jewish Problem. By Leon Simon.
2. Zionism and Jewish Culture. By Norman Bentwich.
3. History of Zionism. By S. Landman.
4. A Hebrew University for Jerusalem. By H. Sacher.
5. Zionism and the State. By H. Sacher.
6. Zionism and the Jewish Religion. By F. S. Spiers.
7. Palestine and the Hebrew Revival. By E. Miller.
8. Hebrew Education in Palestine. By Leon Simon.
9. Jewish Colonization and Enterprise in Palestine. By Israel M. Sieff.
10. Zionism: Its Organization and Institutions. By S. Landman.

Then read in convenient instalments:

11. Auto-Emancipation. By Leo Pinsker.
12. A Jewish State. By Theodor Herzl.
13. The Congress Addresses of Theodor Herzl. Translated by Nellie Straus.
14. Israel. By William Hard.
15. A Jewish State in Palestine. By David Werner Amram.
16. *Poale Zionism*. By H. Fineman.

II. PALESTINE

For a general survey of conditions:

1. Lecture (Dept. of Education) The Geography of Palestine.
2. Recent Jewish Progress in Palestine. By Henrietta Szold.
3. The Work and Problems of the Jewish National Fund. By Leo Dana.
4. Co-operative Colonization in Palestine. By Dr. Franz Oppenheimer.
5. Hebrew Education in Palestine. By Leon Simon.
6. Constitutional Foundations of the New Zion. By H. M. Kallen.
7. An Industrial Army for Palestine. By B. A. Rosenblatt.

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For further intensive study and special problems:

8. Syria, an Economic Survey. By Dr. Arthur Ruppin. Translated by Nellie Straus.
9. Jewish Colonization in Palestine. Methods, Plans and Capital. By Jacob Oettinger.
10. Land Tenure in Palestine. By F. Oppenheimer and J. Oettinger.
11. Co-operative Colonization in Palestine. By Franz Oppenheimer.
12. Merchavia. By Franz Oppenheimer.
13. The Palestine Workers' Fund. By Isidor Zar. Poale Zion Publication.

III. AHAD HA-AM—SELECTED ESSAYS

Arranged for Reading Circles

1. Guide for the Student of Zionism, Chapter XVII.
2. Selected Essays, Introduction, p. 12 to p. 21 (III).
3. Ibid. p. 21 to p. 34 (VI)
4. Ibid. p. 34 to p. 40.
5. Ibid. p. 306 (Moses) to p. 312 ("Lord of the Prophets").
6. Ibid. p. 314 to p. 329.
7. Ibid. p. 205 (Ancestor Worship) to p. 216.
8. Ibid. p. 125 (Priest and Prophet) to p. 138.
9. Ibid. p. 253 (The Spiritual Revival) to p. 264 ("its own work").
10. Ibid. p. 265 to p. 279 ("national wealth").
11. Ibid. p. 279 to p. 293 ("in the future").
12. Ibid. p. 293 to p. 305.
13. Ibid. p. 80 (Past and Future) to p. 90.
14. Ibid. p. 107 (Imitation and Assimilation) to p. 117 ("tendency to imitation").
15. Ibid. p. 117 to p. 124.
16. Ibid. p. 242 (A New Savior) to p. 252.
17. Ibid. p. 171 (Slavery in Freedom) to p. 194.
18. Ibid. p. 139 (Flesh and Spirit) to p. 148 ("by its law").
19. Ibid. p. 148 to p. 158.
20. Ibid. p. 217 (Transvaluation of Value) to p. 228 ("denial nor excuse").
21. Ibid. p. 228 to p. 241.
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5. Idylls of the Gass, by Martha Wolfenstein. P. 31. Shimmele and Muhme Maryam.

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7. Ibid. p. 51. How Shimmele Became a Skeptic.
8. Ibid. p. 69. And a Scoffer.
9. Ibid. p. 161. The Kiddush Cup.
10. Ibid. p. 261. The Source of Tears.
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12. Stories and Pictures, by J. L. Perez. P. 21, Domestic Happiness. P. 89, Seventh Candle of Blessing.
13. Story of the Jewish People, by Jack Myers. P. 136. Hillel.
14. Ibid. p. 171. Akiba.
15. Strangers at the Gate, by Samuel Gordon. P. 142, Towards the Sunrise.
16. Ibid. p. 165. on the Road to Zion.
17. Stories from the Rabbis, by A. S. Isaacs. P. 15, Faust of the Talmud. P. 29, Wooing of the Princess.
18. Ibid. p. 135. Rabbi's Dream. P. 161, A Four-Leaved Clover.
19. Ibid. p. 185. A String of Pearls.

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1. The Palestine Packet. Letters and short articles from and about Palestine in war time.
2. On the Eve of Redemption. Short, pithy essays on Zionist subjects by S. M. Melamed. Written in war time.
3. On Zionism and Jewish Religion; four pamphlets:
 - Zionism: A Statement. By Solomon Schechter.
 - Zionism and Religious Judaism. By Israel Friedlaender.
 - Zionism and the Jewish Religion. By F. S. Spiers.
 - Zionism in the Bible. By Nahum Sokolow.

Two Short Books:

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APPENDIX IV

ZIONIST CHRONOLOGY

1. Movements Toward Zionism Before 1897

- 1809. Founding of the German Dutch Palestinian Administration *Halukkah*.
- 1840. The Damascus Affair (Blood Accusation).
- 1845. Colonel Gawler founds in London a Colonization Society for Jews.
- 1854. Sir Moses Montefiore is received by the Sultan; colonizes thirty-five Jewish families from Safed.
- 1856. Ludwig August Frankl founds the Laemel School in Jerusalem.
- 1860. Hirsch Kalischer (Thorn) and Elias Guttmacher (Graetz) make propaganda for the colonization of Palestine.
- 1860. Founding of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.
- 1862. Moses Hess publishes *Rom und Jerusalem*.
- 1870. The founding of Mikveh Israel under the management of Charles Netter.
- 1878. Jews from Jerusalem establish Petah Tikvah.
- 1881. Widespread pogroms in Russia. The May Laws enforced.
- 1881. Leo Pinsker publishes *Auto-Emancipation*.
- 1881. Eliezer Ben Jehudah settles in Palestine—beginning of Hebrew revival there.
- 1882. Founding of Rishon le-Zion, Ness Zionah, Zichron Ya-acob and Rosh-Pinah.
- 1882. Restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine.
- 1883-1890. Six more colonies established.
- 1884. *Hoveve Zion* Conference at Kattowitz as a direct result of Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation*.
- 1890. Odessa Committee for colonization of Palestine established by *Hoveve Zion*.
- 1890. Red Ticket limits stay of immigrant Jews in Palestine to one month.
- 1890. Rehobot established.
- 1890-1897. Fifteen more colonies established.
- 1891. Founding by Baron de Hirsch of the Jewish Colonization Association (I. C. A.). Argentinian colonization movement.
- 1891. Ahad Ha-am visits Palestine.
- 1892. Prohibition of Jewish immigration into Palestine.
- 1892. Opening of Jaffa-Jerusalem railway.
- 1893. Second visit of Ahad Ha-am to Palestine.
- 1894. The Dreyfus Case in Paris. Dreyfus accused of treason.
- 1896. Dr. Theodor Herzl publishes *The Jewish State*.

1897-1918.

2. Parallel chronology for Zionism, Palestine and General Jewish Events

- 1897** *June.* *Die Welt* established at Herzl's expense.
Aug. 29. First Zionist Congress held at Basle. Zionist Organization established.
- 1898** *Aug. 26.* Second Zionist Congress held at Basle.
 Dr. Hermann Schapira suggests Jewish National Fund.
Nov. Dr. Theodor Herzl and Zionist deputation received by German Emperor in Jerusalem.
- 1899** *March.* Jewish Colonial Trust incorporated as limited company, and subscription for shares opened.
Aug. 15. Third Zionist Congress at Basle.
- 1900** *Aug. 13.* Fourth Zionist Congress at London.
 Herzl writes *Alt Neuland*.
- June.* *Hoveve Zion* makes grants to families desiring to settle in Palestine.
 Vines of Zichron Ya-acob devastated by the phylloxera.
- Aug.* Russian Senate decides that Jewish students with university degree shall henceforth be permitted to reside in every part of Russia except Siberia.
March. Anti-Semitic activities in Germany. National Farm School opened at Doylestown, Pa.
 Anti-Jewish demonstrations in Algeria.
- Aug. 26.* 11,200 Jewish children refused admission to public schools of Roumania.
 Persecution of Jews in Russia, Galicia, and Algeria.
- Aug.* Anti-Jewish riots in Russia, Algeria, Bohemia, and Moravia.
 Captain Alfred Dreyfus returns to France from Devil's Isle in July; second trial; is again condemned, but pardoned ten days later.
 Leopold Hilsner, in Bohemia, after blood accusation, imprisoned for life after commutation of death sentence.
- Aug.* Anti-Jewish riots in Russia.
- Dec.* Baron Edmond de Rothschild cedes his Palestine colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association.
 Permission granted to Jews settled in Palestine for some time, whether subjects of Turkey or of foreign Powers, to buy agricultural land and have it inscribed in their own name.
 Cfar Saba founded.
 Abarbanel Library founded in

Dr. Theodor Herzl, Herr D. Wolffsohn, and Herr O. Marmorek received by Sultan Abdul Hamid at Constantinople. Charter idea considered.

Dec. 26. Fifth Zionist Congress in Basle. Founding of Jewish National Fund.

1902

Feb. Dr. Herzl and Mr. Joseph Cowen received by Sultan of Turkey. Dr. Herzl again received in July.

July. Herzl appears before Alien Commission in London.

Sept. First General Conference of Russian Zionists convened at Minsk.

Oct. Zionist Organization enters into negotiations with British Government as to settling El-Arish (Sinai Peninsula) with Jews.

Anglo-Palestine Co. founded in London, branch of J. C. T.

Cholera in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Lydda.

Odessa Committee decides to devote from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of its income to education in Palestine.

Mes'hah, Yibneel, Melharieyeh, Geulah, a land company, organized by Russian Jews.

Anti-Semitic outbreak in Poland. Oct. Ministerial Order of August 12 bars importation of securities, shares, etc., of the Jewish Colonial Trust into Russia.

*May. Fires at Brest-Litovsk leave 20,000 Jews without shelter. Organization of *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*.*

1903

July. Russian Government forbids Zionist meetings and collections.

Aug. 23. Sixth Zionist Congress in Basle. Great Britain offers Uganda.

Oct. Kharkof Conference of Zionists held secretly to oppose Herzl's attitude toward Uganda. Von Plehve, Russian Minister of Interior, declares to Herzl, on his Russian trip, his willingness to further Zionist movement, provided it remains movement for colonization.

*Organization of Zionist Orthodox Party, *Mizrachi*.*

*Kenessiah (Jewish Congress) held in Zichron Ya-acob, led by Ussishkin. *Agudat Hamorim* formed. Jewish Colonial Trust establishes, at Jaffa, subsidiary institution, the Anglo-Palestine Co., Ltd.*

*April. Massacre of Jews at Kishineff. General meeting of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (the first since 1881).*

*June. International Conference convened by *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* meets at Berlin. Anti-Jewish disturbances at Strassburg and Morocco.*

- 1904 Jan. Dr. Herzl received by King of Italy and the Pope.
 July 3. Death of Dr. Herzl.
 Jewish National Fund legally established in London.
 Mizrahi Congress meets in Pressburg, Hungary.
- 1905 July 27. Seventh Zionist Congress in Basle.
 Secession of Zangwill and others from Zionist Organization.
 Formation of Jewish Territorial Organization (I. T. O.).
 Zionist headquarters move from Vienna to Cologne.
- 1906 Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts opened in Jerusalem.
 Jaffa Zionist information bureau opened.
 Ben Shamen founded.
- 1907 Aug. 14. Eighth Zionist Congress held in the Hague.
 Dec. Sultan of Turkey grants interview to David Wolffsohn, chairman of Zionist *Actions Committee*.
- 1908 Hebrew High School started in Jaffa in private house.
 Bet Dagon founded.
- Anti-Semitic excesses in Russia and Poland.
- Anti-Jewish massacres and excesses in Russia.
- Hephzibah founded.
Agadat Netaim, land company, founded.
- General Jewish Conference called at Brussels under presidency of David Wolffsohn, to consider state of Jews in Russia.
 Jewish massacres in Russia.
 Dreyfus fully vindicated.
- Anti-Jewish outrages in Roumania and Russia. First company of Jewish immigrants under conduct of I. T. O. arrives in Galveston.
- Committee of the I. T. O. in Warsaw disbanded by the government, and later whole organization declared illegal.
- Anti-Jewish outrages in Russia.
 Czar grants pardons to participants in pogroms.
 Turkish Revolution; constitutional government.
- Palestine Land Development Company established.
 Palestine Office established in Jaffa.
 Hebrew High School organized in Jerusalem.
 Be-er Ya-acob, Mizpah, Kinneret, En Gannim, founded.
 Colonists form *Pardess*, a society for the sale of their oranges.
 Family of late Wolf Wissotsky, of Moscow, give first donation, 250,000 francs, towards establishing Jewish Technical Institute in Haifa.

1910

Suppression of Zionist propaganda throughout Russia.

Organization of *Hashomer*.

Jewish National Fund grants local building society loan of 50,000 francs for Jewish suburb near Haifa (Herzliah).

March. Jewish agricultural experiment station organized in New York City.

Epidemics of menengitis and smallpox in Jerusalem.

Dec. Porte again puts in force restrictions on land purchase.

Migdol founded.

March. Turkish Government approves plan for co-operative colonies, as drafted by Dr. Franz Oppenheimer.

Yemenite Jews come in large numbers.

\$90,000 repaid to Baron Rothschild by Jewish villages.

Ruhamah, Merhawiah, Poriah, founded.

In Jerusalem, Hebrew recognized as language in which voters may fill out ballot papers at municipal elections.

Yemenite immigration continues, reaching 2,000 in two years; drawn to Jewish villages as farm laborers.

Nahlat Yehudah, Cfar Mallal, Cfar Uriyeh, Gezer, founded.

Nathan Straus establishes Health Bureau in Jerusalem.

1911

Headquarters of Zionist movement transferred to Berlin from Cologne.

Aug. 13. Tenth Zionist Congress in Basle. Zionist Organization approves plan of co-operative colonies in Palestine.

March. American Jewish Committee incorporated by act of New York Legislature. Jewish Nationalists form third strongest party in Bukowina Diet.

1912

Zionist propaganda suppressed in Russia.

Balkan Wars.

Restrictions upon Russian Jewish students wishing to enter German Universities.

Persecution of Jews in Russia.

Boycott of Jews in Poland.

Expulsion of Jews from Kieff and other parts of Russia, with general demonstrations against Jews.

Judaean Jewish villages organize. (Union of Judaean Colonies.)
July. Laying of foundation stone of building for Hebrew *Gymnasium* (high school) in Jaffa. (Tel Aviv).

Huldah, Daganiah, Atlit, Tel Aviv, founded.

1913

- Sept.* Eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna. David Wolffsohn elected president. The Congress resolves to found a Jewish University in Jerusalem. International Organization of Christians formed in Germany to aid Zionism.
- Zionist Organization meets budget of new schools in Palestine, nearly \$31,000.
- Jan.* Turkish Government confirms purchase of land in Samaria and Galilee by Palestine Department of Zionist Organization, amount paid, 750,000 francs, (\$150,000). Hadassah, New York, sends two nurses to Jerusalem to install system of district nursing.
- April.* Telephone service installed in Jerusalem.
- Oct.* Cabinet orders abolition of "Red Ticket" imposed on foreigners landing in Palestine. Haifa Technicum language discussion. Strike of teachers and school children. National Hebrew schools organized. Kercur, Ramah, Batanieh, founded.
- Jan.* Termination of Treaty of 1832 between United States and Russia. Economic boycott instituted in Poland against Jews. Galicians start similar boycott against Jews. Acute anti-Semitism in Bulgaria. Russian Jews excluded from Prussian Universities, and general anti-Jewish sentiment throughout country. "Ritual murder" trial at Kiev. Mendel Beilis acquitted after 2½ years' imprisonment and 30 days' trial.

1914

- At Berlin meeting of *Actions Committee*, report by Dr. Tschlenow states that Zionist schools founded lately in Palestine have been legalized as Ottoman institutions.
- Aug. 30.* Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs organized in America. Emergency Fund for Palestine. Brandeis accepts leadership in America.
- Sept.* David Wolffsohn, Zionist leader, dies at Cologne. *Actions Committee* members scattered by war.
- Oct.* *Die Welt* suspends publication, and *Juedische Rundschau* becomes official Zionist organ. Suppression of Zionist propaganda in Russia.
- Jan.* First Jewish Educational Congress meets at Berlin.
- June.* Prussian Government orders expulsion of all Jews from Kattowitz. Anti-Jewish rioting in Poland and Russia, with many expulsions and blood accusations in Russia.
- Aug. 1.* Great War.
- Sept.* Whole press in England begins active agitation for Jewish rights in Russia.
- Oct.* Turkey enters war.
- Nov.* American Jewish Relief Committee and Central Relief Committee organize Joint Distribution Committee. Anti-Jewish demonstrations in Roumania. Russia makes false promises to Jews.

1915

April. Organization in Alexandria of Zion Mule Corps from among Palestinian refugees.

June. Zionist Organization (in Germany) refuses request of Government that it issue appeal to all Zionists asking for sympathy with Germany, replying that it could not involve the Zionist movement in world politics.

Suppression of Zionist propaganda in Russia. Jews imprisoned for belonging to Zionist society.

Jan. American cruiser *Tennessee* carries refugees to Egypt.

March. U. S. Collier *Vulcan* sails for Palestine with cargo of food-stuffs.

Locust plague.

Epidemics of cholera, spotted fever, etc., cause terrific mortality.

Hilfsverein buys Haifa Technicum by way of liquidation for £11,000.

Djemeal Pasha prohibits Jews to pray at Wailing Wall, because their prayers include plea for the re-establishment of the Jewish State.

May. Conditions in Poland terrible. Population starving.

Expulsion of Jews in many parts of Roumania.

Anti-Jewish riots in Russian Pale.

Aug. People's Relief Committee organized.

Leo Frank victim of mob in Georgia.

Repression and maltreatment of Jews in Russia.

1916

Jan. Zionist movement legalized in Russia.

March. Dr. Thon takes over direction of Palestine Zionist Bureau and chairmanship of American Relief Committee in place of Dr. Ruppin who is not an Ottoman subject.

Suppression of Zionist propaganda in parts of Russia, despite legalization of movement.

Feb. U. S. Collier *Sterling* sailed with consignment of medicines and Matzoth for Palestine. Delayed at sea.

Recurrence of cholera and spotted fever epidemics.

Great food shortage.

Economic condition terrible.

Persecution of Zionists.

Dec. Anglo-Palestine Company reopens its branches.

January 27 designated as Jewish Relief Day by President Wilson. Expulsion and deportations of Austria-Hungarian Jews.

1917

March. Danish Jews take over distribution of Zionist relief funds in Palestine, Poland and Lithuania, following rupture of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States.
April. First public Zionist mass-meeting held at Odessa.
July. Petrograd: First Congress of Zionists of all Russia decides in favor of a plebiscite of all Jews on question of Palestine. War Office (England) announces formation of Jewish Legion with special emblem.
 Zionist and Jewish rights organization in Italy, *Pro Israele*, composed of important non-Jews.
Nov. 2. British Declaration in favor of Zionism.
 Special Conference called by Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, launches campaign to raise Palestine Restoration Fund.

1918

Feb. France declares in favor of Zionism.
March. Holland and Greece declare in favor of Zionism.
May. Italy declares in favor of Zionism.
June. Convention held in Pittsburgh. Reorganization of Zionist movement in America. Adoption of program for Jewish Commonwealth.
Aug. Siam declares in favor of Zionism.
Aug. 31. President Wilson writes letter endorsing Zionism. Establish Zionist Bureau in Paris in connection with Peace Conference.

Scarcity of food appalling and cost prohibitive.
 Children get food chiefly at schools. Epidemics.
April. Jaffa: Jewish population expelled toward the north. Property looted and homes sacked. Thousands of Jews homeless and starving.
April. Jerusalem: 300 Jews deported.
 Increased persecution of Zionists; tortures and executions.
June. President Wilson sends Henry Morgenthau and Felix Frankfurter to Egypt for purpose of investigating best means of aiding Jews in Palestine.
Dec. 9-10. Jerusalem captured by British troops.

Jan. Reopening of Anglo-Palestine Bank made possible by remittance of \$200,000 by Provisional Zionist Committee of the United States.
March. English Zionist Commission headed by Dr. Weizmann arrives in Palestine.
June. American Zionist Medical Unit goes to Palestine.
July 24. Corner-stone for Jewish University laid on Mt. Scopus.
Sept. General Allenby conquers northern Palestine.
 Jewish Legionnaires participate. School budget in Palestine met by Zionists.
 Improvements under British occupation.
 Attempts at organization of Jews of Palestine.

Harsh and cruel treatment of Jews in Poland by Germans.
 Real Russians agitate against Jews.
Jan. Burnett Immigration Bill, including literacy test, passed over President Wilson's veto.
March. Russian Revolution.
 All restrictions hitherto enforced against Jews, in Army and Navy of Russia, are abolished.
April. United States declares war on Germany.
April. Jewish Welfare Board organized for work in U. S. Army and Navy.
April. Abolition in Russia of all limitations, based on race or religion, of rights of Russian citizens and friendly aliens.
May. U. S. Government protests, through Swedish Foreign Office, to Turkey against massacre and deportation of Jews of Palestine.
 Serious pogroms in Russia, Galicia, and Poland. Jewish massacre in Lemberg.
 Terrible conditions of Jews in Poland.
April. Leopold Hilsner, in Bohemia, pardoned by emperor and released after serving nine years of life sentence after blood accusation.
May. Peace Treaty between Central Powers and Roumania unsatisfactory in regard to laws relating to Jews.
Nov. 11. Armistice signed.
Dec. 15. First American Jewish Congress held in Philadelphia.

APPENDIX V

THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE BEFORE THE WAR

Taken from the Palestine News, November 1, 1918

Number	Founded	Name
1	1855	Montefiore Garden Plantation.
2	1870	Mikweh Israel
3	1878	Petah Tikwah
4	1878	Hattin
5	1882	Rishon le-Zion
6	1882	Ness Zionah
7	1882	Zichron Yaacob
8	1882	Rosh Pinah
9	1883	Yessod Hamaalah
10	1883	Yehudiyeh
11	1884	Mazkeret Batiah (Ekron)
12	1885	Gederah (Katrah)
13	1886	Tanturah
14	1889	Bat Shlomoh
15	1890	Rehobot
16	1890	Mishmar Hayarden
17	1891	Bene Yehudah
18	1891	Hederah
19	1891	Meir Shfeyah
20	1892	Har-Tob
21	1892	Nahlat Hayyim
22	1894	Moza
23	1894	Saham el Jolan
24	1894	Jolan
25	1894	Naffa
26	1894	Bet Amma
27	1894	Bustas
28	1896	Metullah
29	1896	Ain Zeitun
30	1896	Be-er Tobiah (Kastinieh)
31	1899	Sedjera
32	1899	Mahanayim
33	1900	Kfar Saba
34	1902	Mes'hah
35	1902	Yibneel
36	1902	Melhamiyeh

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37	1904	Bet Gan
38	1905	Hephzibah
39	1906	Ben Shamen
40	1908	Beer Yaacob
41	1908	Mizpah
42	1908	Kinneret
43	1908	Ain Gannim
44	1909	Huldah
45	1909	Daganiah
46	1909	Atlit
47	1910	Migdal
48	1911	Ruhamah
49	1911	Merhaviah
50	1911	Poriah
51	1912	Nahlat Yahudah
52	1912	Kfar Mallal
53	1912	Kfar Uriyeh
54	1912	Gezer
55	1913	Kerkur
56	1913	Ramah
57	1913	Bitaniyeh
58	1914	Tel-Adas
59	1914	Dilab
60	1914	Kalandieh

THE JUDAEAN SETTLEMENTS

Name	Area (Dunam*)	Population
1 Ruhamah	6,000	34
2 Beer Tobiah (Kastinieh).....	5,623	170
3 Gederah (Katrah)	5,970	182
4 Mazkeret Batiah (Ekron)	13,000	360
5 Rehobot.....	14,193	1,068
6 Ness Zionah	2,793	199
7 Nahlat Hayyim	1,540	...
8 Rishon le-Zion	14,634	1,348
9 Nahlat Yehudah	301	80
10 Beer Yaacob	2,040	145
11 Mikweh Israel	2,600	153
12 Montefiore Garden City	103	5
13 Yehudiyeh	120	...
14 Petah Tikwah	25,000	3,279
15 Ain Gannim	762	194
16 Kfar Saba	7,231	96
17 Kfar Mallal	4,220	30
18 Ben Shamen	2,329	120
19 Huldah	1,973	30

*4.4 Dunam equal one acre

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20	Kfar Uriyeh	4,800	30
21	Gezer	6,900
22	Har-Tob	4,727	149
23	Dilab	1,500
24	Moza	750	40
25	Kalandieh	2,000
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		131,109	7,712

THE SAMARIAN SETTLEMENTS (Near Haifa).

	Name	Area (Dunam)	Population
1	Hederah	32,500	300
2	Hephzibah	5,908	20
3	Kerkur	15,500	50
4	Zichron Yaacob	30,668	1,000
5	Meir Shfeyah	6,915	50
6	Bat Shlomoh	7,642	80
7	Tanturah	352
8	Atlit	6,800	80
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		106,285	1,580

THE SETTLEMENTS IN THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON

	Name	Area (Dunam)	Population
1	Merhaviah	9,415	100
2	Tel-Adas	10,000	50
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		19,415	150

THE SETTLEMENTS IN LOWER GALILEE

	Name	Area (Dunam)	Population
1	Sedjera	17,720	200
2	Mes'hah	10,120	250
3	Yibneel	23,290	300
4	Poriah	3,545	50
5	Ramah	5,000	50
6	Bet Gan	5,681	50
7	Mizpah	2,941	50
8	Kinneret	9,000	100
9	Daganiah	3,073	30
11	Bitaniyeh	600	30
10	Migdal	6,000	50
12	Melhamiyeh	8,477	100
13	Hattin	1,600
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		97,047	1,260

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THE SETTLEMENTS IN UPPER GALILEE

	Name	Area (Dunam)	Population
1	Rosh Pinah	41,987	700
2	Mishmar Hayarden	7,569	100
3	Yessod Hamaalah	12,228	160
4	Metulah	16,731	300
5	Ain Zeitun	6,016	30
6	Mahanaim	8,500	20
7	Bene Jehudah	3,500	20
		<hr/> 96,531	<hr/> 1,330

THE TRANS-JORDAN SETTLEMENTS

	Name	Area (Dunam)
1	Saham el Jolan.....	30,400
2	Jolan	12,300
3	Naffa	22,000
4	Bet Amma	6,000
5	Bustas	18,000
		<hr/> 88,700

SUMMARY

	Name	Numbers of Colonies	Area (Dunam)	Population
1	Judaea	25	131,109	7,712
2	Samaria (near Haifa)....	8	106,285	1,580
3	Plain of Esdraelon	2	19,415	150
4	Lower Galilee	13	97,047	1,260
5	Upper Galilee	7	96,531	1,330
6	Jolan and Hauran	5	88,700
		<hr/> 60	<hr/> 539,087	<hr/> 12,032

APPENDIX VI

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